

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1360161-000

Total Deleted Page(s) = 7

Page 3 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 13 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 17 ~ b7E;  
Page 18 ~ b7E;  
Page 19 ~ b7E;  
Page 23 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 85 ~ Duplicate;

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X Deleted Page(s) X  
X No Duplication Fee X  
X For this Page X  
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FBI

Date: 11/15/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: LEGAT, PARIS (100-2403) (P)  
SUBJECT: THOMAS HAYDEN  
SM - C

ReNKairtel, 10/11/67, captioned "American  
Pacifist Activities in France."

Enclosed are 9 copies of LHM, dated and captioned  
as above, containing information received on 11/15/67 from  
the [redacted]

[redacted] (T-1). LHM classified "~~Confidential~~" as data was so  
classified by the source.

Legat, Paris files contain no reference to  
~~CONNIE BROWN~~. (U)

Any additional pertinent information received will  
be furnished. (U)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP (S) OF AMENDED PER NOTE AT LEFT  
DATE 6/20/75 10/25/79

- 7 - Bureau (Encl. 9) **ENCLOSURE**  
(1 - Liaison Section)  
(2 - Newark)  
(1 - New York) (Info)  
1 - Legat, London (Encl. 1) (Info) (Sent direct) **KJ**  
1 - Paris

JFF:sch  
(9)

AIRTEL

Copy to [redacted] **ENCLOSURE**  
for routing slip for [redacted]  
date 11-22-67  
by [redacted]

REC-15 100-438281-47

4 NOV 22 1967

Classified by 4417  
Exempt from GDS, Category 1,3  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Approved: [signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

57 DEC 1 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ **SECRET**

b3  
b7E



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

November 15, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

THOMAS HAYDEN

T-1, a confidential source abroad, on November 15, 1967, furnished the following information:

A reliable source advised T-1

[Redacted]

b7D

This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions of  
the FBI. It is the property of  
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;  
it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

Classified by 4417  
Exempt from GDS, Category 1  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GTJ  
7/20/76

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

COPIES DESTROYED  
9 25 SEP 7 1972

100-437281-47  
ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

b6  
b7c

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438281)

DATE: 11/30/67

FROM : LEGAT, PARIS (100-2403) (RUC)

~~SECRET~~

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN  
[IS - VIETNAM] (U)

Re Ottawa airtel to Bureau 10/27/67 and mylet to Bureau 11/22/67. (U)

The [redacted]

b7D

on 11/21/67,

Any additional pertinent information received will be furnished. (U)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF *Class. Section*  
DATE *11/25/76* *1/25/76*

- 5 - Bureau  
(1 - Liaison Section) REC 54  
(1 - Newark, Info.)  
(1 - Legat, Ottawa, 100-1484, Info.)

1 - Paris

JFF:eim

(6)

13 DEC 4 1967

Copy to *Newark*  
by routing slip for

☒ info ☐ action

date *12-6-67*

by *WTH*

Classified by *4417*  
Exempt from GDS, Category *1*  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

55 DEC 13 1967

~~SECRET~~

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FBI

Date: 12/29/67

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF  
DATE 1/29/79

b6  
b7C

Transmit the following in

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(Type in plaintext or code)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

OTHERWISE.

Approval to release per  
State letter dtd 9-15-76

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438281)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-40690) (RUC)

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

IS - CUBA

(OO:NY)

CLASSIFIED AND  
EXTENDED BY 5-2-70/16/a  
REASON FOR EXTENSION 3  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION 12-29-87  
5-30-79

ReWFOlet and LHM 11/22/67.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of b7E  
an LHM regarding the above-captioned subject. Copies are  
furnished Newark and New York as listed in copy count.

The Passport file of subject was reviewed by  
SA W. WADE HOMESLEY on 12/29/67, made available by CARROLL  
H. SEELEY, JR., Legal Division.

b7E



- 4 - Bureau (Enc. 11) ENCLOSURE REC 17 100-438281-49  
2 - Newark (RM) (Enc. 2) (100-48095)  
3 - New York (RM) (Enc. 3) (100-148904)  
2 - WFO  
(1-100-85470) (CULTURAL CONGRESS, HAVANA, CUBA)

18 JAN 5 1968

b3  
b7E

62 JAN 10 1968

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

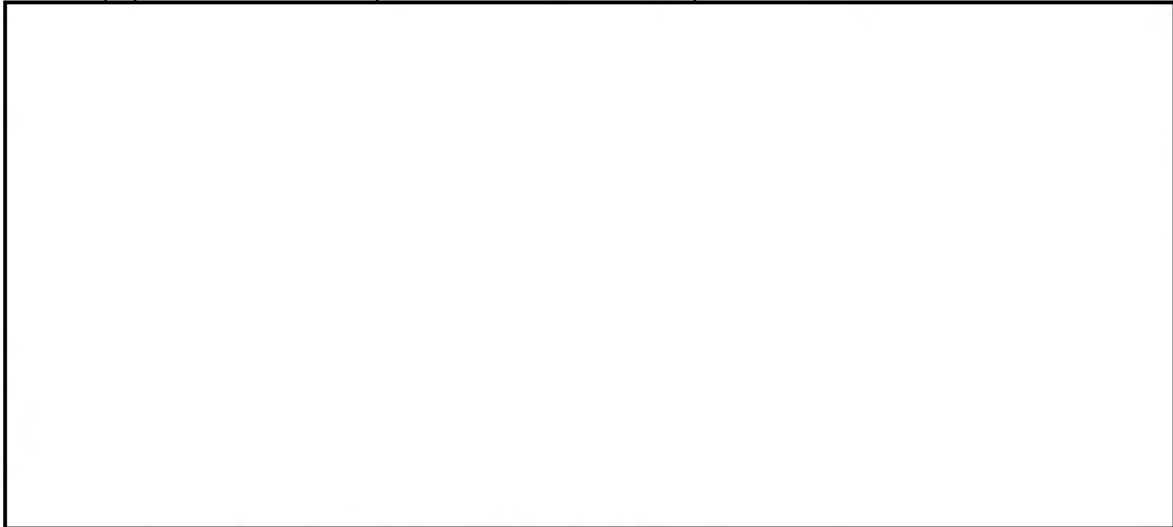
M

Per

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN

WFO 100-40690

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



b7E

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535  
December 29, 1967

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Carroll H. Seeley, Jr., Assistant Chief, Legal Division, Passport Office, United States Department of State, Washington, D.C., advised on December 29, 1967, Thomas Emmett Hayden appeared at the Washington Passport Agency, Washington, D.C., on December 28, 1967, accompanied by David Carliner, a Washington, D.C. Attorney affiliated with the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), requesting a passport for Hayden. Seeley advised that after having met certain requirements and administrative procedures of the Passport Office, a passport was issued to him on that date. The Passport Number H1351965, when issued, was valid only for a one round trip visit to Cuba during the month of January, 1968.

In a letter dated December 28, 1967, directed to Hayden, which was turned over to him personally at the Passport Office along with his newly issued passport, read as follows:

"Mr. Thomas E. Hayden  
631 Hunterdon  
Newark, N.J.

"Dear Mr. Hayden:

"Your passport which is enclosed has been validated for one round trip to Cuba during the month of January 1968.

"The Department's decision to enter this validation on your passport was based upon statements made by you and by newspaper or magazine editors, that the sole purpose of your trip was to obtain information about Cuba for

Approval to release  
Per State letter dtd 9-15-79  
by TAP/bia  
5-30-79

COPIES DESTROYED  
9 25 SEP 7 1972

100-435271-49

ENCLOSURE

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

publication in the United States. The passport regulations recognize that purpose as being "in the national interest of the United States" and authorize the issuance of such a validation for journalistic travel by a professional reporter.

"We think it important to emphasize, however, that only journalistic travel is intended to be comprehended within your passport validation. Activities which indicate that the purpose of your trip is other than reportorial in nature may be considered proof of misrepresentation in the application for passport validation or of violation of the conditions under which your travel was authorized and may result in the revocation of your passport.

"It is your responsibility to obtain permission from the Cuban Government to enter Cuba. In this respect, application for a Cuban visa (permission) can be made at the Embassy of the Czechoslovakia Socialist Republic, 2349 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008, or at the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City.

"The Cuban Assets Control Regulations administered by the Treasury Department prohibit all unlicensed transactions by Americans with Cuba or nationals thereof including payments for travel expenses, for accommodations, or for services. They also prohibit Americans from making unlicensed purchases in Cuba of any goods whether for consumption, exportation or importation into the United States. Application forms for the necessary license and any additional information you may require should be obtained from the Foreign Assets Control, Treasury Department, Washington, D.C. 20220, or the Foreign Assets Control Division, Federal Reserve Bank of New York, 33 Liberty Street, New York, New York 10045.

"A Department of Commerce license may also be required on items the traveler is taking to Cuba other than (1) personal baggage and (2) tools or equipment owned by the



THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

traveler and necessary to his trade or occupation. Questions regarding the necessity for a Department of Commerce license should be referred to the Department of Commerce, Office of Export Control, Washington, D.C., or any Department of Commerce Field Office.

"If you are planning to go to Cuba via Mexico and back to the United States again via Mexico, you are urged to obtain a transit visa for Mexico before departure for Cuba. We have been advised that the Mexican Embassy at Havana has instructions to refuse categorically to deliver transiit visas for Mexico and that only the Ministerio de Gobernación in Mexico is competent to deliver such visas. According to the Mexican Government procurement of a visa may be expedited by the application being made personally with the Mexican Immigration Ministry prior to departure to Cuba. For this reason, it is suggested that if you are planning to go to Cuba via Mexico and out again via Mexico, you should immediately make application for your transit visa with the Mexican Immigration Ministry. In this regard, the United States Government cannot act as an intermediary in Mexican visa matters.

"I should like to emphasize the fact that our Government does not have diplomatic relations with the Government of Cuba and our interests are being represented by a third country (Switzerland). Since we lack direct communications with the Cuban Government we cannot extend to American travelers the protection which citizens can expect in a country with which we have diplomatic relations. I would suggest that you be extremely careful during your visit and that you register at the Swiss Embassy as soon as possible after your arrival so that the Embassy may be aware of your presence in Cuba and you will be able to receive such assistance as may be needed.

Sincerely,

Frances G. Knight  
Director, Passport Office"

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

In support of his efforts to secure the passport, Hayden presented the following supporting statements or affidavits:

A letter on the letterhead of "Liberation," 5 Beekman Street, New York, New York, which read as follows:

"December 26, 1967

"Department of State  
Passport Division

"Gentlemen:

"Mr. Thomas Hayden is an associate editor of our magazine. He is seeking passport validation for Cuba for the purposes of research and writing. We would appreciate your granting this validation for a trip by Mr. Hayden in January.

Sincerely,

Lamar Hoover  
Managing Editor"

A United States Department of State "validation sheet" which stated as follows:

"Name Thomas E. Hayden  
Address 227 Jelliff, Newark, New Jersey

"I request passport validation for Cuba. During my trip there in January, 1968, I agree and during the period in which the validation is granted, I agree not to go to another restricted area or country, with or without my passport.

S/ "Thomas E. Hayden"

Hayden executed the following affidavits dated December 28, 1967:

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

"AFFIDAVIT

"I, Thomas E. Hayden, being duly sworn, depose and say:

If I am issued a passport I will not, during its period of validity, travel, with or without such passport, in violation of the travel restrictions or conditions contained therein or subsequently imposed by the United States Government unless I obtain prior authorization for such travel from the Department of State.

S/"Thomas E. Hayden"

"AFFIDAVIT

"I, Thomas E. Hayden, being duly sworn, depose and say:

1. That I am a professional reporter, earning the bulk of my income from professional reporting, and that I have been assigned to travel to Cuba to obtain information about that area for publication in the United States;

2. That the sole purpose of my trip is to obtain such information for publication; and

3. That I do not intend to and will not participate in any meetings, conventions, conferences or other functions while in Cuba as a public speaker, delegate or other participant.

4. That I am not traveling to Cuba as a representative of any organization in the United States other than the publication which is assigning me to obtain information, and that I will not, while in Cuba, identify myself as a representative of any organization in the United States other than the publication which is assigning me to obtain information.

S/ "Thomas E. Hayden"

The following background information is set forth in the Passport Office records regarding Hayden;

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Name Thomas Emmett Hayden  
Date and place of birth December 11, 1939, Detroit, Michigan  
Height Five feet ten inches  
Hair Black  
Eyes Brown  
Occupation Journalist  
Parents:  
Father *Memo* John E. Hayden, born May 9, 1913, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, a United States citizen  
Mother Genevieve L. Hayden, born February 23, 1915, Oconomowoc, Wisconsin  
Marital status Last married October 1, 1962, to Sandra Cason, born October 12, 1937, Victoria, Texas. Marriage terminated by divorce April 13, 1964  
Permanent residence 631 Hunterdon, Essex County, Newark, New Jersey  
Person to notify Mother, Gene Hayden, 1217 E. Fourth, Royal Oak, Michigan  
Previous passport Passport issued December 15, 1965, Number F102714, "expired and suspended during court test."  
Approximate date of departure December 30, 1967  
Purpose of trip To do research and writing in Cuba for two weeks

The passport records noted Hayden's previous passport had been revoked because of unauthorized travel to North Vietnam.

*S.H. 101-1-1 X CASON X H HAYDEN*

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

F B I

Date 12/18/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED]  
FROM: SAC, WFO [REDACTED] (P)

CULTURAL CONGRESS  
HAVANA, CUBA, 1/4-11/68  
IS - CU  
(OO: Bureau)

HAYDEN

Reference is made to separate communications from WFO to Bureau and interested offices captioned with the names of individuals mentioned in the enclosure with the exception of THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, concerning whom no information was received previously in connection with the captioned Congress.

Enclosed are copies as designated for the Bureau and various offices of an LHM dated and captioned as above, setting forth information furnished by [REDACTED]

b3  
b7D  
b7E

19-Bureau (Enc. 25)

(See page 1a)

4-WFO

[REDACTED]  
(1- 100-33380) (BLOICE)

DMB:dan

(41)

AIRTEL

CARBON COPY

(Copy count continued  
on page 1a)

100-438281-  
NOT RECORDED  
78 DEC 29 1967

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

62 JAN 4 1968

Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED

[REDACTED]

b3  
b7E

(Copy count continued)

19-Bureau

[REDACTED]

b3  
b7E

(1- 100-384411) (DELLINGER)

[REDACTED]

(1- 100- ) (ARNONI)

(1- 100-424169) (BLOICE)

(1- 100-396916) (LYND)

(1- 100-425307) (JONES)

✓(1- 100-438281) (HAYDEN)

[REDACTED]

b3  
b7E

2-Boston (Enc. 2) (RM)

[REDACTED]

2-New Haven (Enc. 2) (RM)

(1- 100- ) (LYND)

5-Newark (Enc. 5) (RM)

(1- 100-41323) (DELLINGER)

(1- 100-46331) (ARNONI)

(1- 100-42539) (JONES)

(1- 100-48095) (HAYDEN)

9-New York (Enc. 9) (RM)

(1- 100-94428) (YGLESIAS)

[REDACTED]

(1- 100-156351) (BRIGHTMAN)

(1- 100-99410) ("JANGOL: IS - R") (SHERMAN)

b3  
b7E

[REDACTED]

(1- SF 100-46832) (SCHEER)



b3  
b7E

The enclosure is classified "~~Secret~~ - ~~No Foreign Dissemination~~" in view of the highly sensitive nature of the source and in addition, because unauthorized disclosure of this information could result in the identification and compromise of a confidential informant of continuing value.

December 13, 1967

Memorandum

*John*

To: Robert H. Haynes  
Special Agent  
FBI Liaison Section

From: M. C. Miskovsky *MEM*  
Director of Investigations

Subject: Thomas Hayden *100 - 438281* *5-*

We would appreciate receiving a complete report on subject. We are particularly interested in his activities as they relate to:

1. Contacts with domestic subversive organizations.
2. Contacts with foreign groups or representatives.
3. Contacts with individuals in Negro militant organizations.
4. Various sources of his finances.
5. His trip to Czechoslovakia, September 6-12, 1967.
6. His present influence in Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).
7. Any information on his Newark organization (formerly known as Newark Community Urban Project), his associates and the successor organization.

*100 - 438281*  
NOT RECORDED  
102 DEC 22 1967

*12/18/67*  
*Per. Serials*  
*Fanning*  
*WRC*  
*100 - 438281*  
*101*  
16 DEC 21 1967

12/13/67, 4 letterhead memoranda and 5 reports, re "Thomas Emmett Hayden," disseminated to NACCD by liaison, dated as follows:  
**54 DEC 27 1967**  
1/25/68, 3/2/66, 3/10/66, 3/29/66, 8/19/66, 8/25/67, 9/21/67, 9/22/67, and 11/22/67. RHH/hke

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-111730-90



F B I

Date: 1/5/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

PLAIN

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via A I R T E L~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(Priority)

~~CLASSIFIED AND~~~~EXTENDED BY~~~~REASON FOR EXTENSION~~~~FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2~~~~DATE OF REVIEW FOR~~~~DECLASSIFICATION~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438281)

FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-48095)

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN  
 SECURITY MATTER - C  
 (OO: NEWARK)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
 OTHERWISE

Re WFO airtel dated 12/29/67 captioned "THOMAS  
 EMMETT HAYDEN; IS-CUBA (OO: NY)".

b3  
 b7E

Attached for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM  
 concerning captioned subject. Copies are being furnished  
 WFO and New York because of their interest.

ENCLOSURE

LHM [ ] State, ACSI, An  
 Copy to [ ]  
 by routing slip for ONI, OSI, Yeaghy  
☒ info ☐ action  
 date 1-12-68  
 by JTE/11

4 - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)

3 - [ ]

3 - WFO (RM) (Encs. 3)

(1-100-35470) (CULTURAL CONGRESS, HAVANA, CUBA)

2 - Newark

BJC:lgd

(12)

b3  
 b7E

C. C. Bishop

EX 109

REC 39

100-438281-50

JAN 10 1968

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP (S) OF [ ]

DATE 1/29/68

Approved: [ ]

70 JAN 19 1968 Special Agent in Charge

Sent

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

M

Per

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
 AND FIELD OFFICES  
 ADVISED BY ROUTING  
 SLIP (S) OF [ ]  
 DATE [ ]

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Newark, New Jersey

January 5, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Reference is made to memorandum at Washington, D. C., dated December 29, 1967, which related information that the captioned subject applied for a passport and it had been granted to him on December 28, 1967. In applying for this passport, Hayden stated he intended to visit Cuba for a two-week period to do some journalistic work for a magazine. Supporting Hayden's request for a passport was a letter on the letterhead of "Liberation" magazine, 5 Beekman Street, New York, New York, which identified Hayden as an associate editor of this magazine and indicated Hayden was seeking the passport validation to Cuba for the purposes of research and writing.

On January 4, 1968, Captain Charles Kinney, Special Services Unit, Newark, New Jersey, Police Department, advised that his unit had learned that Hayden, along with David Dellinger, [redacted] had left for Cuba on January 3, 1968, to attend a conference there. Kinney had no additional information as to specific time or place of their departure or the itinerary of these two individuals.

b6  
b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5-30-79 BY TAP/0.2~~

COPIES DESTROYED  
9 20 SEP 7 1972

100 - 434281 - 50

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~  
CORRELATION SUMMARY

Main File No: 100-438281

Date: 1/16/68

Subject: Thomas Emmett Hayden

Date Searched: 7/5/67

See Also: 25-533293, 44-18407, 44-18747

All logical variation of subject's name and aliases were searched and identical references were found as:

Summary

~~Thomas Emmett Hayden~~  
~~Thomas Haden~~  
~~Tom Haden~~  
~~AT Hayden~~  
~~Thomas Hayden~~  
~~Thomas C Hayden~~  
~~Thomas E. Hayden~~

~~Thomas Eugene Hayden~~  
~~Tom Hayden~~  
~~Tom Emmet Hayden~~  
~~Tom Emmett Hayden~~  
~~Tom Hayden~~  
~~Tom Haydon~~

This is a summary of information obtained from a review of all "see" references to the subject in Bureau files under the names and aliases listed above. All references under the above names containing data identical with the subject have been included except any indicated at the end of this summary under the heading REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY.

THIS SUMMARY HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR USE AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND IS NOT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION. IT IS DESIGNED TO FURNISH A SYNOPSIS OF THE INFORMATION SET OUT IN EACH REFERENCE, AND IN MANY CASES THE ORIGINAL SERIAL WILL CONTAIN THE INFORMATION IN MORE DETAIL.

Analyst

Halene Crawford

HC:las

Coordinator

Theda W. Duncan

Approved

James P. Benedict

10/26/79  
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-1 GSK/PA  
REASON - FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 1-16-98  
COMPUTER # 5110

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

ENCLOSURE

ENCL BEHIND FILE - SEARCH SLIPS ONLY

REC 8.23 100-438281-51

MCT 8.23 4 JAN 16 1968

62 JAN 22 1968

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~  
ABBREVIATIONS

Add. info.....Additional information appearing in  
this reference which pertains to  
Thomas Emmett Hayden can be found in  
the main file or elsewhere in this  
summary.

CORE.....Congress of Racial Equality

DCA.....W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America

ERAP.....Economic Research and Action Project

NCUP.....Newark Community Union Project

PACEWV.....Philadelphia Area to End the War  
in Vietnam

SNCC.....Student Non Violent Coordinating  
Committee

SDSP.....Students For a Democratic Society

U of M.....University of Michigan

WCEWV.....Wayne Committee to End the War  
in Vietnam

\*\*\*\*\*

(X) U  
[redacted] stated that one Bob Stone of the "Students For  
Travel To Cuba" (SFTC) [redacted] had attended a Fair Play For  
Cuba Committee membership meeting at Adelphi Hall, New York City,  
on 8/9/61, and had distributed literature concerning the SFTC. This  
literature listed the name of Tom Hayden, U of M, 1961, as one of  
the founders of SFTC.

b3  
b7D  
b7E

(continued) (u)

~~SECRET~~

(continued)

~~SECRET~~

This serial indicated that the SFTC as of August, 1961, was a new organization with headquarters at 112 East 19th St., NYC and as of 12/8/61 the SFTC was defunct.



(u)

b3  
b7E

In connection with the investigation of the "Demonstration of Negro High School Students, McComb, Mississippi, October 4, 1961" (157-441) Charles "Chuck" Fredrick McDew, [redacted] McComb, Mississippi, advised that on 10/10/61, Thomas Hayden, a free lance writer and former U of M student and writer for the "Michigan Daily" campus newspaper, was in McComb, Mississippi to gather material for a story on the current school situation on McComb. Hayden acted as a driver for Paul Potter, [redacted], who was also in McComb observing the overall situation, as the actions of the McComb School authorities concerning the suspension of the students who participated in the 10/4/61 demonstration was, in his eyes, just another breach of academic freedom.

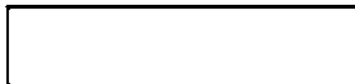
(u)



b3  
b7E

An article entitled "The Mississippi Story: A Chronicle of Unbridled Racial Terror" appeared in the 5/13/63 weekly edition of "The Militant," New York. This article stated that on October 11, (no year given) McComb, Pike County; Paul Potter [redacted] of Philadelphia, a vice president of SDS, and Tom Hayden, both white were dragged from their car and beaten as they drove alongside a group of Negroes making an anti-segregation march...."

(u)



b3  
b7E

Correlator's Note: Serial 2 indicates 10/11/61 as date of above incident.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

On 10/12/61 Kenneth Paul Potter and Thomas Emmett Hayden, when interviewed, stated they attended a meeting of the SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia on October 8, and 9, 1961, and thereafter travelled to McComb, Mississippi to observe race relations. (u)

Add. info.

157-446-2  
(13)

"New Freedom" Vol.1, No.2, dated 11/13/61, The Bulletin of Student Political Action, published by New Freedom, Inc., Ithaca, NY (62-107057) contained a feature article entitled "Voice — begins second year," by Joan Golomb. This article contains a description of the purposes, accomplishments, and aims of the liberal political organization, Voice, formed on the University of Michigan (U of M) campus in September, 1960, in response to an idea of Thomas Hayden, then editor of the "Michigan Daily."

Above described publication enclosed  
62-107057-5 encl.p.5  
(2)

Bernard Lee, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, advised that nine members of SNCC left Atlanta, on 12/10/61, via the Central of Georgia Railroad en route to Albany, Ga., to test the facilities of the Union Railway Terminal.

Chief Laurie Pritchett, Albany, Ga., advised that on 12/10/61 nine individuals were arrested at a demonstration at a train station in Albany, Ga. Tom Emmett Hayden, BD 12/11/39, BP Mich. was among those arrested and charged with disorderly conduct, obstructing traffic and failure to obey an officer. Individuals were placed under \$200.00 bond; and cases were to be heard on 12/11/61.

Add. info.

157-452-86  
(28)

Thomas E. Hayden, 560 Moreland N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, when interviewed at Syracuse, New York on 12/14/61 gave information

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(continued)

about his arrest in Albany, Ga. on 12/10/61. Hayden stated that he and ten other individuals were arrested in front of the railroad station at Albany after having been ordered out of the station. They had arrived with other individuals aboard a Georgia Central intrastate train from Atlanta. Hayden stated the trip was not advertised as a freedom ride but was a group testing use of intrastate trains. He stated they were only in the station about two minutes and he was unable to observe conditions at the station. Hayden stated he was bonded out on 12/11/61, and appeared in court 12/12/61. He was out on \$200.00 bond for reappearance on 12/19/61.

157-467-1

~~(11)~~

changed to

157-452-113X

~~(11)~~

Bureau memo dated 12/20/61, stated that the Civil Rights Division, Department of Justice, had learned from the Mayor of Albany, Georgia that a number of the persons responsible for the recent demonstrations in Albany had subversive backgrounds.

Name checks, but no investigation, were requested on a group of individuals, including Tom Emmett Hayden. This memo indicated that this was being done.

157-6-49-433

~~(28)~~

Correlator's Note: Unable to locate name check prepared on Hayden.

"The Washington Post and Times Herald," issue of 3/27/62, carried an article datelined Albany, Ga. March 26, entitled "Five Forced From Seats in Ga. Court." The article stated that Sheriff's deputies used force on one Negro and four white Freedom Riders to maintain segregated seating in Dougherty County Superior Court on 3/26/62. The five stated they had gone to the courtroom to await trial on charges of breaching the peace brought against them and six others on December 10. Tom Hayden of Atlanta, a free lance writer, and his wife Sandra, were among those persons shoved through

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(continued)

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the revolving door when they went to the rear of the courtroom to join the Negro who had previously joined them in the section for white persons.

157-387-A p.1 "Washington Post  
and Times Herald,"  
3/27/62

(27)

[redacted] (security source of information, protect  
identity) [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Add info.

157-275-47 encl.p.1,3  
(27)

[redacted]  
[redacted] (protect identity)  
furnished a transcript of a [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

During this hearing C.B. King, an attorney in Albany, Ga. and active in the desegregation movement, testified concerning the Albany Movement and described his experiences and various mass arrests that had occurred in Albany. One of the arrests that he touched upon concerned the arrest and court proceedings of Charlie Sherrod and Charlie Jones, both members of "Snic," who were arrested

(continued)

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(continued)

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on charges of loitering, idling and loafing in the bus station. King then stated that there were other experiences he had had that would be of interest, however, at this point one of the members of the Commission interrupted him and asked if he was going to mention another incident in court involving these same two men, plus Robert Zellner and Thomas Hayden. King answered "yes." He was informed that the hearings would have to be closed.

44-19646-31 encl.p.265  
(2)

Correlator's Note: The above incident probably related to Hayden's arrest on 12/10/61 and his trial on 3/26/62 in Albany, Ga.

On 6/7/62 [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] in  
dated

May, 1962. Frank Wilkinson suggested 10 copies each of the news-letter be sent to Tom Hayden. Included on the list was the following: "Tom Hayden, SDS Room 405, 112 E. 19th Street, NY, NY, has many contacts, Lee Benham, Spring 62." Source explained that the notation "Lee Benham, Spring 1962" indicated that Benham was to contact Hayden at NSA\* Spring, Illinois-Wisconsin Regional Convention. (S)

100-435092-15 p.14  
(19)

\*National Student Association

[redacted] (protect identity) [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] furnished information concerning disbursements made from the bank account of the "Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated" (100-10355). Included was check No. 3876 made payable to Tom Hayden for the amount of \$300.00 dated 5/1/62 (Grant for C.H. Conference)

100-10355-999 p.14  
(18)

By letter dated 4/23/62, the Atlanta Office set forth information concerning Tom Hayden as contained in Atlanta files.

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(continued)

~~SECRET~~

It was requested that the Bureau check its indices and notify Atlanta of any security type information regarding Hayden who was on the staff of SDS and residing in Atlanta at that time.

157-275-43 p.1,3

(27)

Correlator's Note: On 5/11/62 the Bureau complied with this request.

An article entitled "ADA Rally Here Backed in Colleges" appeared in the "New York Post" newspaper dated 3/4/62. This article stated that a Stand up for Democracy Rally was to be held at Saint Nicholas Arena on Wednesday night which had support in 30 colleges; sponsoring liberal students. The rally sponsored by the Young Democrats, and Americans for Democratic Action (100-348196) was to be a reply to a recent Young Americans for Freedom Program held at Madison Square Garden. Tom Hayden, Field Secretary SDS, was to be one of the speakers.

100-348196-A "New York Post," 3/4/62

(18)

SI 100-434516-A "The Worker," 3/6/62

(18)

(date of rally 3/7/62)

- 10 -

The following references in the files as indicated below set out that as of 1/31/62 the name of Tom Hayden and Al (LNU), a friend of Hayden, had appeared on a list of individuals who had either expressed an interest in attending or had indicated their intention of attending the Eighth World Youth Festival, Helsinki, Finland, July 27 - August 5, 1962. A list which was reported to have been the working list of participants used by the US Festival Committee during the festival included the name of Thomas Hayden. It was established that Tom Hayden and Al Haber, possibly the one Al above, did not attend this festival.

SUBJECT OF FILE

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP  
PAGE NUMBER

"Eighth World Youth Festival, 100-436224-28 p.1  
Helsinki, Finland, July 27 - August 5, 1962"

(19)

(continued)

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(continued)

SUBJECT OF FILE	REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
"Eighth World Youth Festival, Helsinki, Finland, July 27 - August 5, 1962	100-436224-86 p.2,3 -98 p.1-3 -140 p.1,2 -249 p.1 -271 p.1 -282 encl.p.2 -386 encl.p.2 -391 encl.p.10 -398 encl.p.10	(19) (19) (19) (13) (19) (19) (4) (19) (4)
"Al (LNU)-Friend of Tom Hayden - Possible Participant In Eighth World Youth Festival 1962"	100-438688-2 p.1 -5 p.1 -6 p.1	(19) (19) (20)
"Twelfth Report of the Senate Factfinding Committee on Un-American Activities to the 1963 Regular California Legislature, Sacramento"	100-15252-118 encl.p.183	(3)

An article by Daniel Rubin entitled "1,000 Attending National Student Parley in Ohio" appeared in "The Worker" dated 8/28/62. This article concerned the annual Congress of the National Student Association (NSA) being held at that time at Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. Leaders from all major campuses and from most significant student organizations were gathered for twelve days of debate and action. The Liberal Study Group on its first night focused on the aims of higher education. Tom Hayden was one of the speakers and singled out the cold war as creating the main problems of higher education. Hayden called for a gearing of curriculum, expenditure of money and other resources to help end the Cold War.

The Liberal Study Group was described as a group organized by SDS and the Americans for Democratic Action, as well as Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee of the South, the Northern Student Movement and CORE.

100-346566-A "The Worker," 8/28/62  
(18)

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The "Michigan Daily" issue of 10/24/62, editorial page, carried an article to the Editor which noted that a group of U of M people and Ann Arbor residents would demonstrate that afternoon in opposition to the U.S. action. Article stated that the purpose of the demonstration was to "express our conviction that the only rational course of action for the U.S. was an attempt to resolve the crisis without further use of force. Proposals that this group supported were set out. This article was printed over the name of Thomas Hayden and others.

The 10/25/62 issue of the "Michigan Daily," a campus newspaper edited and managed by the U of M students at Ann Arbor, Michigan, reported a student demonstration at U of M on 10/24/62, protesting the US blockade around Cuba. This event was called by the "Ad Hoc Committee for United Nations Action in the Crisis."

This article stated that Thomas Hayden, graduate student and one of the members of the Ad Hoc Committee, spoke to the demonstrators on the campus stressing the danger of nuclear war if unilateral action was continued and he suggested this matter be appealed immediately to the United Nations. Hayden's remarks were unfavorably received by a group of pro-blockade students who threw eggs and stones at the anti-blockade demonstrators.

[redacted] b3  
[redacted] b6  
[redacted] b7C  
[redacted] (protect identity) [redacted] b7E  
[redacted] b7D  
[redacted] furnished information concerning disbursements made from the bank account of the "Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated" (100-10355). Included was a check made payable to Thomas E. Hayden (grant for Dallas Conference) for the sum of \$100.00 dated 11/15/62.

100-10355-1014 p.5  
(11)

Captain Myron Brill, Oberlin, Ohio PD furnished one copy of the Winter 1963 issue of the "Activist" (100-435751) a quarterly publication of the SDS, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York. Tom Hayden was listed as one of the contributing editors of this publication.

Above described publication enclosed  
100-435751-11 encl.p.2  
(19)

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[redacted] (protect identity)  
advised that a conference was to be held of student social workers  
at the Allais United Mine Workers of America Hall, [redacted]  
on March 26-29, 1964, if permission could be obtained to use the  
hall. This conference was to be sponsored by the "Committee For  
Miners" (100-441525) and ERAP Project of SDS. Included on the  
agenda of the Conference for March 28 was Tom Hayden, former president  
of SDS.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

100-441525-18 p.3  
(23)

The following references are articles that appeared in  
the issues of "The Worker" dated 3/29/64 and 3/31/64 entitled "The  
Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution." These articles listed  
the members of this committee and among those listed was the name  
of Tom Hayden, Ann Arbor, of SDS.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

62-109356-1 p.1  
-A "The Worker" 3/29/64 p.2

(16)  
(17)

By airtel dated 7/9/64, the Atlanta Office in connection  
with the investigation captioned "William Gilchrist Anderson, Et Al;  
Alex Carl Smith, Et Al; Victim — OOJ, Conspiracy; Perjury; Juvenile  
Delinquent Act, forwarded to the Bureau copies of a Brief Amicus  
Curiae in Support of Appellant Joni Rabinowitz. This Brief which was  
filed in U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals contained names of  
members of the academic field, including Thomas E. Hayden, who  
pointed out that Rabinowitz had been deprived of a fair trial because  
the trial judge had denied her motions for (1) change of venue  
(2) to dismiss for improper method of selection of jurors and  
(3) to waive jury trial.

Above described Brief enclosed  
72-1495-227 encl.p.36  
(11)

Correlator's Note: Serial 226 indicated that this Brief  
had been filed with the 5th Circuit Court on 6/8/64.

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The following references in the file captioned "Newark Community Union Project, aka." (NCUP) contain information concerning the activities of Thomas Emmett Hayden, a leader of this Project in Newark, N.J., during October, 1964.

Hayden and Carl Wittman were the leaders of this loosely constituted student group and Hayden was arrested on an assault and battery charge as a result of his conduct and activities relating to the work of the NCUP in a Negro slum area. Background information on Hayden set out in these references including information regarding a check signed by Thomas S. Hayden, Atlanta, Ga., deposited to the account of the U.S. Festival Committee, Chase Manhattan Bank, NYC on 6/25/62.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-1850-5  
-9  
-10

(11, 14, 27)  
(27)  
(14, 27)

The following references in the file captioned "Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party" (MFDP) contain information pertaining to Thomas Emmett Hayden in connection with his civil rights and peace activities from 9/3/64 through 11/28/64 in Newark, New Jersey and Washington, D.C.

Thomas Hayden, the main leader of the Newark Community Union Project, left Newark with members of NCUP and traveled to Washington, D.C. to join groups from all over the U.S. representing the MFDP and SDS for a united effort to keep Mississippi Senators from being seated January 3.

Background information on Hayden is also included in these references.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

62-109555-18 encl.p.1-3  
-20 encl.p.1-3  
-21 encl.p.1,2  
-62 encl.p.1,3,4

(10, 12, 17)  
(10, 12, 17)  
(10, 12, 17)  
(11-17)

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b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] (protect identity) [redacted]  
[redacted] was interviewed  
and furnished information regarding a [redacted] ✓  
[redacted]

research being done by Dr. Pilisuk. In December, 1964, Dr. Pilisuk and Thomas Hayden co-authored a report based on the questionnaire entitled "Is There a Military Industrial Complex Which Prevents Peace?" Consensus and Countervailing Power in Pluralistic Systems, under the authority of the Mental Health Research Institute, University of Michigan.

Above described report enclosed  
65-69456-6 p.1 and encl.

(3)

Correlator's Note: A copy of Questionnaire is included in  
65-69456-1.

~~(S)~~ [redacted] advised that on 11/24/64 David Needleman (100-432629) son of Isidore G. Needleman, was in contact with "Barry" in Newark, NJ and during their discussion Needleman asked about "Tom and Carl," but neither one was available. Informant advised that "Barry" could be reached at telephone number Bigelow 3-1895 (Newark). b7D

100-432629-49  
(not indexed)

In reference to above the Newark Office noted that "Barry," "Tom," and "Carl" were in all probability Barry Kalish, Tom Hayden, and Carl Wittman.

~~(S)~~ [redacted] advised on 1/6/65 that New Jersey telephone number BI 3-1895 was listed to Carl Wittman and Tom Hayden, 194 Ridgewood Avenue, Newark, N.J. Kalish and Wittman were not further identified. b7D

100-432629-51 p.1  
(18)

-13-  
~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

The "New York Times" newspaper of 3/15/65 stated that the SDS was organized in 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan, by a "band of young intellectuals who got most of their immediate inspiration from the sit-in movement," according to one of the founders, Tom Hayden, a 25 year old Detroit native.

According to the above article, SDS was affiliated with the League for Industrial Democracy, Incorporated, a non-profit educational institution founded in 1905 by Jack London, Upton Sinclair and Clarence Darrow.

140-31367-4 p.2  
(26)

On 3/18/65 Lt. Charles O'Connor, Newark, New Jersey PD, advised that they had received information concerning a telephone call which was received at the NCUP, Newark, New Jersey by Thomas Hayden, member of NCUP. The caller, an unidentified male, stated, "we're going to bomb the place." Lt. O'Connor advised that the Newark Police searched the NCUP premises with negative results.

174-1-31-51 encl.p.1  
(9)

[redacted] (protect identity) [redacted]  
[redacted] and a confidential source of the Memphis Office furnished information concerning a two-day conference of the "Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee" (100-439190) held on 4/15 - 16/65 in Washington, D.C. Source stated that Tom Hayden, representative of ERAP Newark, N.J. was among those who attended the conference. Hayden spoke of and described the ERAP, its purposes and goals as a national movement for people committed, in a democratic manner, to a national change throughout the country. Hayden stated ERAP's goal was to create "enormous decision makers in the society which form the beginnings of a revolution."

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100-439190-317 encl.p.11,12  
(23)  
SI 62-110048-412 encl.p.1,10  
(17)

Photographs taken of some of the participants in the Student March on Washington, April 17, 1965 (62-110048) at Washington, D.C.,

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to oppose U.S. intervention in Vietnam, were displayed to informants. [redacted] identified the individual circled in photo No. 67 as Tom Hayden from Chicago or New York and stated that he was introduced to the informant as the Education and Research Secretary of SDS and member of the "Mystical Anarchist Group". Informant also identified Hayden as one of the individuals in photo No. 69.

b7D

62-110048-429 p.1

(17)

SI 62-110048-445 p.2. encl.1

(2)

[redacted], protect identity)

The following references in the file captioned "Yale Socialist Union" (YSU) (100-440443) contain information pertaining to Tom Hayden in connection with the "Second Annual Symposium" on "Socialism in America." This symposium was held 4/30/65 - 5/2/65 at Strathecona Hall, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut and was sponsored by the YSU.

Tom Hayden one of the participants in the Saturday afternoon panel on the Negro Movement, expressed his viewpoints on the Negro and the poor peoples conditions; criticized existent civil rights organizations and called for a type of organization in which every one would be able to say what he wanted. Hayden stated that to accomplish this, a new type of revolutionary leader was needed.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-440443-26 encl.p.1  
-27 encl.p.1,2,3,4,8,10  
-28 p.10,12  
-33 p.6

(23)  
(23)  
(23)  
(6)

[redacted] P-PSI (protect identity) [redacted] advised that the "Southern Students Organizing Committee" (100-442367) arranged for Stephan Mark Weissman, a student at the University of California, to speak at Memphis State University, Memphis on 5/3/65. During this speech booklets entitled "The Port Huron Statement," were sold. Booklets were published by SDS and described therein as the first official statement of SDS. growing

b7D

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out of a draft statement prepared by SDS staff member, Tom Hayden and representing the collective thought of the inspirational founding convention of SDS held in Port Huron, Michigan on June 11 - 15, 1962.

100-442367-20 p.48  
(23)

PSI [redacted] (protect identity) advised that on 8/3/65 Tom Hayden and Phil Hutchins, Staff Members of SDS at Newark, N.J., stated that there would be a demonstration in Washington, D.C. over the week-end of 8/6-8/65. This demonstration would involve people from all over the U.S.

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b7D

100-444176-102 encl.p.1  
(23)

An article which appeared in "The New Leader," September 27, 1965 headed "National Reports, subheaded SDS: "Troubled Voice of the New Left," by Steven Kelman described SDS as an association of young people of the "New Left" that concentrated its efforts in community organization for the poor and in the movement to end the war in Vietnam. One of SDS's projects was NCUP, headed by Tom Hayden, who worked in poverty areas.

Hayden would not work with established civil rights organizations or with the established Urban Renewal Project, as defeating "the Establishment" approach to poverty was a main goal of the SDS.

This article indicated that the SDS would have to examine the casual sort of intellectual standards exemplified by Tom Hayden, who "calls the American university 'a totalitarian knowledge factory,' yet quibbles about using the word 'totalitarian' to describe the USSR or Communist China."

Publications  
"The New Leader," 9/27/65  
(16)

The Newark Office advised that Tom Hayden was one of the SDS leaders who participated in the "International Days of Protest" (100-444608) demonstration in Trenton, N.J. on 10/16/65.

100-444608-258 p.2  
(23)  
SI 100-444608-359 encl.p.1  
(24) (SAs)

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The following references contain information concerning Thomas Emmett Hayden, in connection with an unauthorized visit ne and two other individuals, Herbert Eugene Aptheker, Director of American Institute for Marxist Studies, and Professor Staughton Lynd of Yale University made to North Vietnam and Red China. These individuals departed John F. Kennedy Airport Queens, New York 12/19/65 and flew to Brussels, Prague, Moscow, Peking and then entered North Vietnam by way of Cambodia. These individuals returned to the U.S. on 1/9/66.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-362128-409 encl.p.1	(4)
100-396916-68 p.1	(4)
-69 encl.p.1	(4)
100-3-81-10383*	(3)
-77 encl.p.2	(18)
100-234959-36 p.3	(3)
100-72786-75 p.3	(3)
100-264688-548 p.1	(4)
100-123974-646 p.4,5	(3)
<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 1.2em; display: inline-block;"></div>	(26)
The Current Digest of the Soviet Press February 16, 1966 p.22	(29)
New World Review* February, 1966	(2)

\*Add. info.

Thomas Hayden, upon his return to the U.S. from his unauthorized trip to Vietnam spoke or planned to speak at numerous meetings and affairs as indicated below regarding this trip. Hayden was very critical of the U.S. policy in Vietnam; gave detailed accounts of atrocities allegedly committed by the U.S. forces against the Vietnamese people and proposed what must be done to bring the war to an end.

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(continued)

DATE	SPONSOR AND PLACE	REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
1/14/66	SDS, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.	62-109119-1718 encl. p.2 -1722 encl. p.1	(2) (2)
1/16/66	Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, (FAVPPC) Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance Manhattan Center, New York City	100-445548-7 encl.p. 40,41,43	(7,24)
1/19/66	FAVPPC Manhattan Center New York City	100-441164-34-116 p.14*	(6)
2/12/66	Vanderbilt University, The Nashville Committee for Alternatives to War in Viet- nam and the Vanderbilt Forum, Nashville, Tennessee	100-388367-61 p.11 100-443853-570 p.1 100-444916-73 encl.p. 1,2,5 100-388425-186 p.27 100-445776-7 encl.p.14	(4) (6) (6) (4) (7)
3/6/66	Brooklyn Residents For Peace, Parking Plaza, Brooklyn, NY	100-444865-5 p.7	(24)

\*Add. info.

This reference is a comprehensive summary regarding Student Agitation at the (U of M) Ann Arbor, Michigan, prepared by the Detroit Office dated 1/25/67. Information set out concerning Thomas Hayden related to his activities as editor of the U of M publication "Michigan Daily"; president of the Student Government Council U of M and National Student Association, co-founder of SDS, its affiliate Voice Political Party (VPP), and its action projects such as Economic Research and Action Party (ERAP) and the Peace

(continued)

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Research and Education Project. Also mention was made of his appearance at Detroit on 2/26/66 under sponsorship of SDS and the Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam where he spoke on his recent trip to North Vietnam. Hayden's activities covered the period from approximately 1960 through 2/22/66.

100-151448-25 encl.p.5,6,7,21,22,131,132  
(3,18)

[Panel Source ] (~~(S)~~ U) (protect identity) advised that Thomas Hayden spoke at a forum sponsored by the "National Guardian" held at the Riverside Plaza Hotel, New York City, on 2/24/66. Hayden spoke pessimistically of the fact that labor does not have a working majority in this country and that there was no great mass movement working for change nor did it show the need for change. Hayden stated that he saw the new community action program within the anti-poverty movement and the new Negro movement groups fighting against economics as the basis for mass action.

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Add. info.

100-357044-732 p.13,20  
(4,18)

"Bring The Troops Home Now Newsletter" (100-445064) Volume 1, No. 6 dated 3/7/66 was obtained through the Boston Office ~~confidential~~ mailbox. This magazine was published at Cambridge, Mass. by an organizing group to promote the formation of a national organization of the independent anti-war committees based on the demand for withdrawal of U.S. troops now.

An article appearing in this publication under the heading "Civil Rights and Vietnam: The Southern Demonstrations" mentioned demonstrations in various cities that were held on 2/12/66 and indicated that Tom Hayden, SDS, spoke at a teach-in at Nashville, Tennessee. Also that a successful social affair had followed this event.

An article under the heading, "The International Days of Protest March 25-26" stated that many areas would participate in demonstrations and mentioned that Tom Hayden, who recently returned from North Vietnam had agreed to speak in Cleveland, Ohio. The theme of the actions would be "Bring the Troops Home Now."

Copy of above newsletter enclosed  
100-445064-7 encl.p.13,20  
(24)

~~SECRET~~

The following references in the file captioned "International Days of Protest March 25-26, 1966" contain information pertaining to Thomas Hayden in connection with demonstrations protesting the U.S. intervention in Vietnam covering the period from 3/18/66 - 3/28/66 in Cleveland, and Detroit.

Hayden spoke at a demonstration in Detroit sponsored by the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam, SDS, and Citizens for Peace in Vietnam and he was the principal speaker at a public meeting in Cleveland sponsored by the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Hayden spoke in very strong terms against U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Also a kick off for the Detroit demonstration sponsored by the Citizens for Peace in Vietnam and SDS scheduled to be held at Wayne State University was to feature Anti-War films and tapes belonging to Tom Hayden.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-445310-36 encl.p.1,2  
-68 encl.p.2,3  
-186 encl.p.1  
-314 encl.p.1  
-336 encl.p.3,15

(7)  
(24)  
(24)  
(24)  
(7)

The printed program for the "China Teach-In. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan April 3, 1966" [redacted] sponsored by SDS and Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy listed the name of Thomas Hayden, SDS, former Daily Editor, Recent Visitor to China, as participant in the seminars as a panelist on "Chinese Politics, Ideology and the Revolution," and on U.S. - Chinese Relations. Hayden was also listed as a speaker at the Plenary Session. Program set out in verbatim. (Source not given)

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b7E

Add. info.

[redacted]

b3  
b7D  
b7E

(8,28)  
SI 62-110039-310 p.27,107,115-129,176  
(2,17)

[redacted] and duplicate  
(sources)

SI 100-446288-12 p.9

(7)

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"The New York Times," dated 6/10/66 contained an article entitled "A New Left Group to back Militants at November Polls" that described a new group of civil rights and anti-war militants known as the "National Conference for New Politics." This group was to start raising campaign funds for New Left candidates from coast to coast.

"The New York Times" conducted a survey of anti-war groups and ad hoc committees. Among those interviewed by reporters were two leaders of SDS, Thomas Hayden and Paul Booth. They stated they could imagine collaboration with Senator Robert F. Kennedy and Booth mentioned that Hayden would be one of the SDS observers to attend the National CP Convention to begin 6/22/66. This article also set out that Hayden was one of the three individuals who went on an unauthorized and much publicized trip to Hanoi last December.

62-110985-A "New York Times," 6/10/66  
(2)

Thomas Haden, founder of SDS, which organization was one of the sponsors of the "Third International Days of Protest August 6-9, 1966" (100-445949) was identified by SAs as one of the participants who spoke at a rally at Independence Hall, Philadelphia on 8/6/66. Haden, one of those who went to Saigon, gave detailed accounts of atrocities committed by the U.S. against the Vietnamese people.

 furnished a poster which announced a parade and motorcade 8/6/66 in Philadelphia, as well as the speak-out at Independence Hall sponsored by PACEWV. Tom Hayden, SDS, was listed as one of the speakers for the speak-out.

b7D

100-445949-250 encl.p.10  
(24,30)

SI to para. 2

100-445949-42

(24) (Robert Feinberg, Established Source)

SI to para. 2

100-445548-11 encl.p.77

(24)

SI to para.1

157-6-37-1995 encl.p.6

(30) (Inspector Millard T. Meers, Philadelphia, PD)



b3  
b7E

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~~SECRET~~

Dr. and Mrs. Vincent Karusaitis, [redacted] on 3/31/66 and/or 4/7/66 advised that Thomas Hayden and Abbott Small, student at Swathmore College, were close friends of Michael Allen Meeropol, (100-439805) oldest son of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and the Karusaitis' son-in-law.

b6  
b7c

Add. info. according to "New York Daily News," 1/10/66.

100-439805-43 encl.p.2,3  
(6)

On 4/29/66 Dwayne Allen, a representative of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NCCEWV), spoke in Los Angeles at a special meeting of various peace-oriented groups held under the sponsorship of the Emergency Council on the Crisis in American Foreign Policy (100-443953). During his speech he announced that prior to the end of May, 1966, Staughton Lynd, Herbert Aptheker and Thomas Hayden would hold a press conference in either New York or Washington, D.C. to announce a "summer project" of "Peace Crusades" throughout the U.S.

Add. info.

100-443953-15 p.9,29  
(8)

[redacted] <sup>c</sup> advised that a "Youth Symposium on the New Left 6/10-14/66" (105-154352) was held at Conway, New Hampshire. Tom Haydon, SDS, was among those in attendance. This symposium ended at noon June 12, due to the fact that those who attended had completed their discussion.

b7D

On the evening of 6/12/66, a meeting was held in the meeting house at World Fellowship, Conway, New Hampshire. Some of the individuals who attended the symposium remained at the World Fellowship meeting and were asked to review what happened at that symposium. Bob Pfefferman reported that Tom Haydon and Bob Zelner had discussed their work; one talked regarding the Hill Community Project in New Haven, Connecticut, while the other talked about the Bob Cook (phonetic) campaign.

[redacted]  
SI 61-9200-287 p.1 (Rev. Robert H. Lewis, panel source Epping, N.H. (protect identity) furnished program)  
(16)

b3  
b7E

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Patrick J. McGahn, attorney, Atlantic City, N.J. furnished a mimeographed letter dated 8/12/66 (included in this reference), requesting those receiving the letter to obtain names and addresses of all friends and acquaintances now on active duty (or in the active reserve or recently discharged veterans of Vietnam) who were likely to sign a public statement of dissent from American policy in Vietnam. Replies were to be sent to Keith Lampe in care of "Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam" (100-445217) 5 Beekman Street, New York City. One of the endorsers was Tom Hayden.

Add. info.

100-445217-30 encl.p.1,24  
(7,24)

The "National Guardian," issue of 7/9/66 carried an article that concerned the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee (FHTDC) (100-446189) which stated that among those who had agreed to sponsor the defense committee was Tom Hayden, SDS.

[redacted] panel source and [redacted] Newark source of information (protect identities) advised that on 8/29/66 and 8/30/66, respectively, a booklet entitled the "Fort Hood Three" contained a list of names of its sponsors. Included among the sponsors was the name of Thomas Hayden. b6 b7C

100-446189-7 p.7,13,14,18  
(7)  
SI 100-446189-6 p.1  
(7)

The [redacted] advised that Tom Hayden and his group of 40 Negroes from New York, all members of a social action project, went to Montreal, Quebec Canada on 9/3/66. Hayden was also accompanied by Connie (surname unknown). (S) U b7D

Tom Hayden inquired on 9/5/66 as to how they could get the Vietnamese stuff on the bus going back to Newark, New Jersey. Hayden stated that to get the stuff through customs, they would have to break up the case and spread the contents among the key people. Hayden was advised by Demetrius Roussopoulos that Hayden would be better off to contact Lucia Kowaluk regarding this Vietnamese stuff. RCMP was unable to enlarge on the foregoing. (S) U

(continued)

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(continued)

It was reported that Roussopoulos had received a letter from Stokley Carmichael and Paul Goodman advising that they were both willing to attend a conference as speakers. Roussopoulos further advised that it would be a good idea to have the conference at Sir George Williams University in Montreal and that he had received replies from Hayden and Stanley Ryerson who agreed to attend the conference as speakers. The conference was believed to be sponsored by the "Student Union for Peace Action" (100-443195). ~~(S)~~ U

[ ] was unable to comment further concerning this conference. ~~(S)~~ U

b7D

100-443195-15 encl.p.1,2  
(23)

The [ ] advised on 10/7/66 that Clayton Ruby (phonetic) recently informed Lucia Joan Kowaluk that there was another package supposed to be coming from North Vietnam. Kowaluk in turn asked Demetrius Ioannou Roussopoulos if he had received this package. Roussopoulos replied that he had not received any package lately and that Tom Hayden was most likely coming to Montreal on Labor Day week end (September 3 through 5, 1966) with his people from the project\* and that he would see Hayden then. Ruby stated the package in question was to go to Tom Hayden via Roussopoulos and Kowaluk's sister, Alice Tweedie Kowaluk in New York. Ruby informed Kowaluk that Hayden was worried about this package. Kowaluk stated that she did not see why Hayden was worried as she had sent two packages by registered mail before and Alice Tweedie had picked them up. Tom Hayden was believed identical to Thomas Emmett Hayden. ~~(S)~~ U

b7D

100-443195-14 encl.p.1,2  
(13,23)

\*NCUP, Newark, N.J.

[ ] (protect identity) PSI, [ ]  
furnished information and material in connection with the National Leadership Conference held at Cleveland, Ohio on 9/10-11/66 when the "November 8 Mobilization Committee" (62-111181) was founded.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Included in this material was a copy of a resolution adopted by the National Leadership Conference in Cleveland. The name of

(continued)

-24-  
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62-11181-10 encl.p.12

(17)

100-439190-A New York Times, 9/25/66

(22)

Hayden travelled to North Vietnam and China on an unauthorized peace mission in late December 1965 and January 1966 with two other individuals. Hayden made numerous speeches regarding this trip and his experiences with the North Vietnamese people and their desire for peace.

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

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25-26-27-28-29

b3  
b7E

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(continued)

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REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

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(8)  
(8)  
(8, 25)  
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(8, 12)  
(25)  
(8, 26)  
(8)  
(26)  
(26)  
(26, 30)

b3  
b7E

The following references in the file captioned "Racial Matters" contain information pertaining to the activities of Thomas Hayden in connection with racial matters throughout the U.S. from the Summer 1960 - 10/29/66.

Hayden, student leader at U of M, held various student offices, visited college campuses regarding student organizations, crusaded for student government affairs and worked on integration matters. He was a delegate to the National Student Congress and headed various community projects of SDS to improve interracial neighborhoods. Hayden was coordinator of a national nonviolence movement and he participated in civil rights and peace demonstrations. He was arrested at a demonstration in Albany, Ga. and later when on trial was physically removed from the courtroom when he and others on trial disobeyed orders to sit in designated space. Hayden made an unauthorized trip to North Vietnam with two other individuals, returning January, 1966. He indicated he was not connected officially with the CP but had many sympathies with them.

REFERENCES

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-6-2-334 p.1

(26)

157-6-28-121 encl.p.1  
-139 encl.p.2,3

(26)  
(9, 11, 13, 26)

157-6-31-1294 encl.p.41,42

(26)

157-6-37-2317 encl.p.7

(27)

157-6-47-936 encl.p.2

(27)

-26 ~~SECRET~~

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Whittier Alexander Sengstacke, Jr., Tennessee State University student, Nashville, Tennessee (protect identity) made available samples of literature distributed at the November 25-26, 1966, "Southern Student Organizing Committee" (SSOC) (100-442367) conference held at Memphis, Tennessee. Included was the "Student Social Action" by Thomas Hayden, originally published by SDS and a pamphlet, "The Power of the Dixiecrats," by Tom Hayden, originally published by SDS, reprinted by SSOC.

100-442367-46 encl.p.32,35  
(8,23)

On 12/1/66 [redacted] ~~(S)~~ furnished two documents concerning a conference to plan a National Student Strike for Peace to be on 12/28-29 at the University of Chicago, 1126 E. 59th Street. One of the documents was captioned "A Call for National Student Strike for Peace" (100-446761) with subheading "Toward Ending the War in Vietnam...Toward Ending the Draft...Toward Ending University Participation in the War Effort..." and listed the name of Tom Hayden, Newark Project, SDS among the initial sponsors for the conference.

b7D

[redacted] advised that these documents were received by Rene Sandoval, Texas Coordinator of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America. ~~(S)~~ U

b7D

100-446761-2X encl.p.3  
(25)

The following references in the file captioned "Students for a Democratic Society" (SDS) contain information pertaining to the activities of Thomas Hayden, a co-founder and officer of this organization, from 6/11/62 - 4/21/67 in various parts of the U.S. and North Vietnam. Thomas Hayden and Alan Haber, then students at the University of Michigan, were co-founders of the SDS. Hayden drafted a booklet entitled "The Port Huron Statement" that was published by SDS and described therein as the first official statement of the SDS and represented the collective thought of the inspirational founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan on June 11-15, 1962. Hayden also authored pamphlets that were distributed by SDS. He organized the Newark Community Union Project (NCUP) which was run by SDS. Hayden attended and/or participated in various types of activities, including meetings, rallies and demonstrations of peace and civil rights groups. Upon his return to the U.S. from his unauthorized trip to North Vietnam, Hayden made numerous speeches about this trip.

(continued)

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(continued)

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As of 3/10/66 Hayden was writing a book concerning this trip in cooperation with Staughton Lynd, a Yale University professor and Herbert Aptheker of National Committee of CP, USA, the two individuals who accompanied him. Background information is set out in these references concerning Thomas Hayden.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-439048-101 p.4	(22)
-323 encl.p.3	(22)
-330 encl.p.6,8	(22)
-337 encl.p.18,19,46,62	(22)
-358 encl.p.6,9	(22)
-363 encl.p.2	(22)
-527 p.77C,87,115	(5,13,22)
-1004 p.3,7,38,45	(6,13,22)
-1384 p.35,79,85,95	(6,22)
100-439048-5-32 encl.p.1,3,5	(20)
-51 p.50,52	(20)
100-439048-10-47 p.27,28	(4,20)
100-439048-11-26 p.20	(4)
100-439048-12-1 p.16,17	(20)
100-439048-15-19 p.9,10,20,21,52,53,60	(5,20)
-52 p.9,41,42,44,45	(5,13,20)
-61 p.61,69,74,107,108	(5)
-101 p.8,9,70,71,100	(5,20)
100-439048-28-1 p.110	(20)
100-439048-30-20 p.15	(20)
100-439048-31-6 p.7	(5,20)
-11 p.3	(20)
-18 encl.p.4	(20)
-20 encl.p.3	(21)
-34 p.5,6,10,13,25	(21)
-52 p.1,8,17-19	(5,21)
100-439048-32-37 p.3,18	(5,21)

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REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-439048-34-57 p.33,41,42  
-85 encl.p.2,12,15  
-89 p.24,25

(5)  
(21)  
(21)

100-439048-36-28 p.7

(21)

100-439048-37-33 p.7  
-55 encl.p.27,48-62

(21)  
(5,21)

100-439048-38-20 p.9-13,17

(5,21)

100-439048-39-9 p.18

(21)

100-439048-45-64 p.15

(21)

100-439048-47-12 p.26  
-26 p.13,25,37

(22)  
(22)

The Bureau obtained at Union Square Park, NYC a copy of Volume 1, Number 1, May, 1967 issue of the Tri-Continental Information Center Bulletin (TCICB) published by "Tri-Continental Information Center" (TCIC) (100-447368) 1133 Broadway, NYC. This bulletin described in detail this organization, its origin, scope, location, and its aims and purposes. It listed the names of its sponsors and officers. This issue contained an article entitled "Tri-Continental Information Center Founded" which stated in part as follows:

"The Center arranged a fact-finding visit of U.S. observers to Puerto Rico from April 15-20. The group included Bonnie Barrow, National secretary of CORE; Lois Reivich of the North American Congress of Latin America; Tom Hayden, former president of SDS; Jesse Allen of NCUP; and Jose Stevens from DCA. The group participated in the April 16 island wide march to protest the war in Vietnam, the drafting of Puerto Ricans for Vietnam, and the upcoming plebiscite...."

It was noted that this serial indicated that the TCIC was a CP front and supported by CP funds.

100-447368-9 p.16  
(25)

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[redacted] Confidential Source Security, [redacted]

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[redacted] furnished documents regarding an SSOC meeting 2/25-26/67, a forthcoming SSOC Conference in May or June 1967, and proposals and statements by various key SSOC leaders. Information therein included data relating to the proposal by SSOC to prepare a library of tape recordings. Among the individuals suggested as a possibility of getting a good set of tapes was Tom Hayden. It was indicated that the tapes would give a wide circulation of SSOC's views.

100-442367-72 encl.p.9  
(23)

\*\*\*\*\*

REFERENCES REVIEWED BUT ONLY LISTED IN SUMMARY:

The following references on Thomas Hayden located in files maintained in the Special File Room of the Records Branch, Files and Communications Division were reviewed and found to be identical with the subject of this summary; however, the information contained therein has not been included:

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

64-330-330-367

(3)

(7)

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REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY

See the search slip filed behind file for other references on this subject which contain the same information (SI) that is set out in the main file. Differences in source will be noted on the search slip.

~~SECRET~~

REC-67

MEMO FOR RECORD:

270905 Dec 67

SUBJECT: Request for Television Interview with [redacted]

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1. At 270905 Dec 67, undersigned received a phone call from Bob Mead, CBS-TV News, Wash. DC (202-1234) requesting authority to interview [redacted] at his home in [redacted] on the subject of [redacted]. Mead stated that he has a CBS camera crew at [redacted] home, that [redacted] had agreed to discuss his [redacted] plans on camera provided DA approved. I informed Mead that we had no "buzz" on [redacted] or the other two returned PW and that I would phone [redacted] discuss the CBS request and ascertain his wishes in the matter.

*U.S. Navy (4 of 4)*

2. At 270910 Dec 67, undersigned placed a call to [redacted]. [redacted] stated that a CBS film crew from Charlotte NC was camped in his driveway. He said the CBS people had asked him to consent to an interview on his intended [redacted] and shown him a copy of NY TIMES story in 27 Dec issue (copy attached). [redacted] said he had no objection to addressing the subject of his planned [redacted] but that he was concerned CBS entry into his home would enable them to pursue other matters about his recent captivity.

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3. After discussion of the matter, [redacted] elected to refuse the interview and said he would inform the CBS crew of his decision and asked I inform Mead at CBS, Washington. [redacted] believed that crew might leave camera and sound "on", ask him other questions which he might refuse to answer or discuss, and otherwise not honor any prior agreement on subject matter to be covered. Since he could not determine how film would be edited/used, he thought he should refuse the interview. Mead so informed by me at 270925 Dec 67. [redacted] told crew

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4. (PROTECT SOURCE): [redacted] also stated that he had received a call from TOM HAYDEN, conveying Christmas greetings, on Sunday, 24 Dec 67. Hayden allegedly stated that he would give [redacted] phone number at which he can be contacted - [redacted] later. [redacted] said that Hayden showed unusual interest in his plans to meet with press, inquiring when he would tell his [redacted] whether DA contemplated any releases/press conferences. Hayden also stated he was going to a meeting in Cuba "next month" (believes February, but could be January 1968). Hayden stated that he wanted to stop by and see [redacted] one day soon and asked if [redacted] would have any objections. [redacted] stated that he informed Hayden that if he was in the area, he [redacted] would "buy him a cup of coffee." Purpose of this visit is unknown, according to [redacted]. No mention made of anyone accompanying Hayden during such a visit. [redacted] also said that Hayden told him that Joan Baez, who apparently knew Capt ROWE, still captive, in college, was writing/had written NLF asking for Rowe's release into her (Baez's) custody. [redacted] states he has passed all this info to intell personnel in Bragg area.

EX-113

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b7C

REC-67

NO RECORD

NO RECORD

5. (PROTECT SOURCE): [redacted] also added that he asked HAYDEN how he obtained [redacted] unlisted phone number. Hayden told [redacted] that it was obtained from Jackson, whom he had called earlier. [redacted] unhappy about fact Jackson gave out unlisted home phone.

b6  
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Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan ☒ \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

11:36 PM URGENT 1-23-68 CDC

TO DIRECTOR

FROM NEW ORLEANS

THOMAS HAYDEN, IS - NORTH VIETNAM.

CLAUDE SMITH, U.S. CUSTOMS PORT INVESTIGATOR, NEW ORLEANS INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, MOISSANT FIELD, NEW ORLEANS, LA., ADVISED THIS DATE THAT UPON ROUTINE INSPECTION OF BAGGAGE, HE DISCOVERED MATERIAL WHICH HE FELT MIGHT BE OF INTEREST TO THE FBI. SPECIAL AGENTS OF THE FBI EXAMINED THE REFERENCED MATERIAL THIS DATE LOCATED IN THE LUGGAGE OF THOMAS HAYDEN WHICH ARRIVED AT 6 PM, JANUARY 22 LAST, IN A SUITCASE AND SMALL BOX. THIS LUGGAGE WAS OFF LOADED IN NEW ORLEANS. HAYDEN DID NOT CALL FOR THE LUGGAGE AND CUSTOMS HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO ASCERTAIN THE FLIGHT ON WHICH THE LUGGAGE ARRIVED IN NEW ORLEANS.

CONTAINED IN THE MATERIAL EXAMINED BY SPECIAL AGENTS IS A LETTER ADDRESSED TO "REN" AND SIGNED TOM WHICH CONTAINED THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION VERBATIM:

15 JAN 30 1968

CC 93205

F 26

INT/DEC

54 FEB 6 1968

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

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☐ AIRGRAM    ☐ CABLEGRAM    ☐ RADIO    ☒ TELETYPE

PAGE 2, FROM NEW ORLEANS

"A MASSIVE CONFRONTATION WITH OUR GOVERNMENT--THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY--AS IT HOLDS ITS CONVENTION IN CHICAGO THIS SUMMER IS BEING ORGANIZED. THERE WILL BE A DEMONSTRATION TO DRAMATIZE THE LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE WHO FEEL UNREPRESENTED, AND IN FACT DISGRACED AND USED, IN OUR GOVERNMENT-S POLICIES ON THE DOUBLE CRISIS OF VIETNAM AND RACISM. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WILL PROTEST NOT ONLY THE WAR AND RACISM BUT THE MOCKERY THAT DEMOCRACY HAS BECOME. THE UNDEMOCRATIC METHOD OF CHOOSING DELEGATES-THROUGH MONEY AND 'PULL' - WILL GO EXPOSED AND OPPOSED. THE NAMES OF DEMOCRATIC CONTRIBUTORS WHO PROFIT FROM DO-NOTHING POLICIES, FROM WAR AND RACISM, WILL BE REVEALED AND THEIR PRIVATE COMFORT DISTURBED. THE IRRELEVENCE OF THE PLATFORM COMMITTEE DEBATE, IN A CONVENTION WHOSE GOALS ARE LAID DOWN BY LYNDON JOHNSON ALONE-WILL BE ATTACKED. THE STREETS WILL BE CLOGGED WITH PEOPLE DEMANDING PEACE, JUSTICE AND PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT. ALL OF AMERICAN AND THE WORLD WILL LOOK ON AND JUDGE WHETHER LYNDON JOHNSON OR THE DEMONSTRATORS ARE BETTER REPRESENTATIVES OF AMERICA-S TRADITION OF DEMOCRACY.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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☐ AIRGRAM    ☐ CABLEGRAM    ☐ RADIO    ☒ TELETYPE

PAGE 3, FROM NEW ORLEANS

AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. IF THE PRESIDENT FINDS IT NECESSARY TO EMPLOY TROOPS-FRESH FROM VIETNAM OR THE GHETTOES-TO SECURE HIS NOMINATION, THAT WILL BE AN HISTORIC ADMISSION OF THE BREAKDOWN OF REPRESENTATIVE AND MEANINGFUL GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA. A GOVERNMENT WHICH PLANS OR ALLOWS THE DEATH OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD EACH AND EVERY DAY WILL INEVITABLY BE FORCED TO PROTECT ITSELF AGAINST ITS OWN CITIZENS."

PROGRAM.

"GOAL: TO APPLY MAXIMUM PRESSURE TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AT ALL LEVELS FROM NOW THROUGH THE 1969 ELECTION; BREAK VOTERS AWAY FROM THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY (NEGROES INTELLECTUALS, LIBERAL INDEPENDENCE.), TO INCREASE THE MILITANCY OF THE PEACE AND HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN ORDER TO INCREASE THE COST OF GOING ON WITH THE WAR AND RACISM; TO REACH OUT AND BROADEN THE RANKS OF THE PROTEST MOVEMENT BY STRESSING HOW THE INTERESTS OF MILLIONS OF AVERAGE AMERICANS ARE VIOLATED BY THE WAR AND RACISM.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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☐ AIRGRAM    ☐ CABLEGRAM    ☐ RADIO    ☒ TELETYPE

PAGE 4, FROM NEW ORLEANS

"1. DEMONSTRATE AND PROTEST WHEREVER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS OR RECRUITERS APPEAR. CREATE A CLIMATE OF HOSTILITY, CONVINCE PEOPLE THAT THE GOVERNMENT LACKS AUTHORITY AND CONSENT.

"2. EXPOSE AND PROTEST THE WAY IN WHICH THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY REPRESENTS MONEY, WAR, AND RACISM BUT NOT PEOPLE. CAMPAIGN IN ALL THE GHETTOES FOR THE EXPULSION OF EASTLAND. PROTEST THE POSITIONS OF DODD, JACKSON, SYMINGTON. ATTACK ENGLEHARD'S TIE TO JOHNSON. ATTACK THE TEXAS CONSTRUCTION COMPANIES WHICH PROFIT OFF VIETNAM. HOLD TEACH-INS AND CAMPUS PROGRAMS ON ALL FORMS OF COMPLICITY WITH VIETNAM AND RACISM. PICKET THE AFL-CIO HEADQUARTERS FOR SELLING OUT THEIR ORGANIZATION TO JOHNSON.

"3. EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR MC CARTHY, KENNEDY, FULBRIGHT, ANTI-WAR OR BLACK CANDIDATES IN THE PRIMARIES, CREDENTIALS AND PLATFORM STRUGGLES. REMAIN INDEPENDENT, HOWEVER, OF ALL PARTY FACTIONS.

"4. EXPOSE AND PRESSURE STATE AND LOCAL PARTY DELEGATIONS. LEGAL CHALLENGES. LOBBY THEM ON THE ISSUES THE CONVENTION AND THE PARTY FACES. DEMONSTRATE AND ATTACK PARTICULARLY

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

PAGE 5, FROM NEW ORLEANS

CORRUPT DELEGATES.

"5. SUPPORT TO THE BLACK MOVEMENT IN ANY CHALLENGES MADE AGAINST THE DEMOCRATS.

"6. SUMMER OF ORGANIZING, EDUCATION, DEMONSTRATION: FOR THE CONVENTION AND BEYOND. SUPPORT FOR BLACK REBELLIONS, DRAFT RESISTANCE. 'VIETNAM SUMMER' EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS. COMMUNITY-ORGANIZATION PROJECTS. FORMATION OF COORDINATING COMMITTEES TO PLAN ATTACK ON CONVENTION.

"7. MASSIVE CONFRONTATION IN CHICAGO. DEMONSTRATE AT ARENA, DEMONSTRATE AT HOTELS, DEMONSTRATE ALONG ROUTES, BLACK DEMONSTRATIONS, PRESS CONFERENCES: MESSAGE FROM NLF, ATTACK ON LBJ BY GARRISON, BLACK LEADERS PRESENT UNIFIED DEMANDS, SYMBOLIC ACT BY DRAFT RESISTERS, ETC.

"A. LENGTH: TWO WEEKS, WITH PERHAPS ONE WEEKEND OF REALLY MASSIVE TURNOUT.

"B. SCALE: 50-100,000 FULL TIME; 500,000 ON SPECIAL WEEKEND.

"C. MANY-SIDED. SEPARATE OFFICES, SEPARATE GROUPS ACCORDING TO INTEREST OR REGION, SEPARATE TACTICAL EMPHASES, ETC.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM    ☐ CABLEGRAM    ☐ RADIO    ☒ TELETYPE

PAGE 6, FROM NEW ORLEANS

"D. DEMANDS: END THE WAR AND BRING JUSTICE TO AMERICA."

ADMINISTRATIVE:

TELETYPE FOLLOWS WITH SUMMARY OF OTHER PERTINENT  
 INFORMATION CONTAINED IN MATERIAL EXAMINED BY SPECIAL  
 AGENTS. LHM FOLLOWS.

AIRMAIL COPY TO CHICAGO.

RECEIVED: 1:06 AM (1-24-68) LRC



SAC, New Orleans 

February 9, 1968

b3  
b7E

Director, FBI (100-438281)

THOMAS HAYDEN  
IS - NORTH VIETNAMREGISTERED MAIL  
*Thompson*

Attached is the translation which you requested by letter dated 1/26/68.

The contents thereof, where pertinent, must be reported under appropriate captions and afforded whatever investigative attention is necessary.

Disposition of the foreign language material submitted in this connection is set forth below:

Returned herewith.

1 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Internal Security Section), sent direct with enclosure

MLM:ccb  
(4)

Enc. (4)

ENCLOSURE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MAILED 3

FEB 9 - 1968

COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

5 - MP

TRANSLATION FROM FRENCH

ALLOCUTION OF MR. NGUYEN VAN HIEU  
ON THE OCCASION OF THE RETURN OF  
AMERICAN SOLDIERS, RELEASED BY THE  
FRONT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION OF  
SOUTH VIETNAM, TO THE REPRESENTATIVE  
OF AMERICAN PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS,  
IN PHNOM-PENH, ON NOVEMBER 11, 1967

---

Dear friends,

On October 31, acting in accordance with an order of the Headquarters of the Central Committee of the National Front of Liberation, the Headquarters of the People's Armed Forces of Liberation of South Vietnam decided to release three American war prisoners. Here are the names of these prisoners:

- Edward Johnson,
- James Alex Jackson, Jr., and
- Daniel Lee Pitzer.

This is not the first time that the National Front of Liberation is releasing war prisoners, because this measure involves humanitarian policies of the Front.

---

The righteous and implacable hatred of our people against American aggressors, who have waged an extremely cruel war against our people and have used to that effect means of extermination of unprecedented barbarism, is quite well known.

It also is known that our enemies have submitted combatants of the Front, and even captured civilians, to mis-treatments similar to those used by fascists and have thus contemptuously violated all international laws.

On the other hand, the Front consistently respects its principles which, regarding the matter of treatment of

55  
TRANSLATED BY:  
MAX L. MIUSHKOVICH:ccb  
February 2, 1968

10 - 11 32 2 / 1 -  
ENCLOSURE

war prisoners, are set in the fundamental documents of the Front. It is clearly indicated in our Political Program that American, satellite and puppet war prisoners

"will be humanely treated and benefit from our policies of clemency" (Chapter II, Point 12).

---

In addition, by releasing American prisoners in general and Negroes in particular, we would like to respond to the good will favoring peace and justice of the American progressive population which is opposed to the aggressive war of American imperialists in Vietnam.

Furthermore, we would like to express our solidarity with and our support of United States Negroes who are fighting for their fundamental civil rights.

The Front of National Liberation and the South Vietnamese population highly appreciate the movement of intellectuals, clergymen, women, students and workers of all kinds which exists in the United States in favor of the discontinuation of the unjust war waged by the American Administration against our country. This movement asks for the withdrawal of American troops and for the recognition of the Front of National Liberation...

We were gladdened by the steady development of this movement which has, in addition, increasing support in all the countries throughout the world. This could be established by the manifestations which occurred on October 21.

We wholeheartedly support the courageous fight of the Negro population. This fight is in complete harmony with the just combat of the South Vietnamese population. This combat is aimed at:

- democracy,
- peace,
- neutrality and
- prosperity.

Unquestionably, the revolt of the black population has pitilessly unmasked the hypocrisy of the United States Government which pretends to play the role of defender of freedom in the whole world.

Ferocious and bloody repressions have been undertaken against Negroes in localities such as:

- Selma,
- Watts and
- Newark.

Nonetheless, we are quite convinced that, in spite of that, nothing can extinguish the bright flame of liberty in the hearts of millions of Americans.

---

The progressive population of the United States as well as the justice-loving people throughout the world perfectly understand that the United States policies of aggression in Vietnam will certainly be defeated.

This population and people understand that our (South Vietnamese) people have confidence in their own forces and in the support of all of mankind and that our people are determined to fight until final victory.

---

I take advantage of this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to the American progressive organizations whose representative is now here. These organizations are struggling against the United States war in Vietnam.

These organizations have quickly replied to our appeal by their willingness to aid the soldiers, released by the Front of National Liberation, to return to their families.

May the representative be kind to transmit our fraternal greetings and our best wishes for success to all those who, in the United States, work for a real peace in South Vietnam and that means peace in a country completely disencumbered of American and satellite troops and of their bases, where people are free to settle their own affairs without foreign interference.

---

As for the American soldiers who benefit from the clemency of the Front, we wish them good health and happiness.

Let us hope that, with the aid of their compatriots who are already struggling against the insane policies of the United States Government in Vietnam, these soldiers might make a useful contribution to this struggle because they have actually seen that the aggressive war will inevitably be a fiasco.

---

Finally, I wish to express my homage to the great understanding of the Royal Government of Cambodia which has facilitated this simple ceremony and the transit of the American soldiers released by the Front.

We believe that this understanding is due to the humanitarian feelings which animate Samdech Norodom Sihanuk, the Chief of State of Cambodia to Whom (sic) we would also like to express our deep gratitude.

ORDER FOR RELEASE

- By order of the Central Committee of the National Front of Liberation of South Vietnam,
- in pursuance of the humanitarian policy of clemency of the Front of National Liberation of South Vietnam toward prisoners,
- in response to the good will of the American progressive population favoring peace and justice and opposing the aggressive war in Vietnam of American imperialists, and in order to express our solidarity with and support for the fight of American Negroes for their fundamental civil rights, a fight which is in complete harmony with the just combat for independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and prosperity of the South Vietnamese people,

the Headquarters of the People's Armed Forces of Liberation of South Vietnam

D E C I D E :

Article I

To release the three American war prisoners whose names follow:

- Edward Johnson, Sergeant, Counsellor of the 1st Battalion, 31st Regiment, 21st Division of the puppet army, identification No. [ ] captured in the battle of Luc-phi, Go-quao, Province Rach-Gia on July 21, 1964;
- James Alex Jackson, Jr., Medical Sergeant of the Special Forces No. 5, identification No. [ ] captured in Binh-Hung, Province Camau on July 5, 1966 and
- Daniel Lee Fitzer, Sergeant of the Group of Counsellors No. 96, identification No. [ ] captured in Tan-Phu on October 29, 1963.

b6  
b7c

These three prisoners have manifested sincere remorse for the crimes which they committed toward the South Vietnamese people. In addition, they respected our laws and regulations during their detention.

Article II

The units of the People's Armed Forces of Liberation of South Vietnam should aid the three above-listed prisoners to return, in the best condition, to the American people and to their own families.

On October 31, 1967

The Headquarters of the People's Armed Forces  
of Liberation of South Vietnam

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
(ATT: FBI LABORATORY, TRANSLATION SECTION)

DATE: 1/26/68

FROM : SAC, NEW ORLEANS  (P)

SUBJECT: THOMAS HAYDEN  
IS - NORTH VIETNAM

ReNOairtel and LHM, 1/24/68.

Enclosed is one copy of a three-page typewritten letter, written in French and entitled "ALLOCUTION DE M. NGUYEN VAN HIEU A LA REMISE DES MILITAIRES AMERICAINS LIBERES PAR LE FNL DU SUD VIET NAM OU REPRESENTANT DES ORGANISATIONS PROGRESSISTES AMERICAINES A PHNOM-PENH LE 11 NOVEMBRE 1967", and one copy of a notice entitled "ORDRE DE LIBERATION".

The Translation Section of the FBI Laboratory is requested to translate the enclosures and to furnish the results to New Orleans.

It is not necessary to return the enclosures as New Orleans has other copies of this material.

3 - Bureau (Enc. 2) ENCLOSURE  
2 - New Orleans

PDF:mbc  
(5)

NOT RECORDED

16 JAN 29 1968

T-79859

MLM:deb

1-30-68

COPIES AND SPECIMENS RETAINED IN LAB.  
FOR LAB. ACTION AND REPORT



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

*Handwritten:* R...  
**SEVEN**  
**REC. IN SEC.**  
**PR** **SS E**



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-438281)

DATE 2/5/68

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-48095)

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN  
SM - SDSCards UTD  
Cards Sent 00  
2/13/68  
aa

Re: FD-122 dated 8/4/67

☐ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.☒ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only).

Name			
Aliases			
<input type="checkbox"/> Native Born <input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized <input type="checkbox"/> Alien			
<input type="checkbox"/> Communist <input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party <input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (specify) _____			
<input type="checkbox"/> Tab for Detcom	Date of birth	Place of birth	Race <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any.			
Key Facility Data			
Geographical Reference Number		Responsibility	
Interested Agencies			
Residence Address  631 Hunterdon St. Newark, N.J.			

REGISTERED MAIL

2-Bureau  
1-Newark  
BJC:gjh  
(3)

100-438281-

NOT RECORDED

5 FEB 9 1968

INTERSEC  
PREP  
H. E. ROW

51 FEB 15 1968

1/30/68

AIRTEL

1 - Mr. W. H. Floyd  
1 - Mr. J. A. Jackson  
1 - Mr. P. F. Enlow  
1 - Mr. W. N. Preusse

To: SACs, Boston  
Chicago  
Cincinnati  
Cleveland  
Detroit  
Los Angeles  
Newark  
New York  
Philadelphia  
San Francisco

From: Director, FBI (100-446097)

INVESTIGATION OF THE NEW LEFT  
(NEW ACTIVISTS)

During your investigations of organizations which fall under the category of "new left" organizations, you have furnished information indicating that certain individuals in the Students for a Democratic Society and anti-Vietnam war groups are extremely active and most vocal in their statements denouncing the United States and calling for civil disobedience and other forms of unlawful and disruptive acts. These individuals, because of their leadership roles and activities in these organizations, could be considered to be Key Activists.

1 - 100-447543 (Calvert)  
1 - 100-384411 (Bellinger)

1 - 100-440138 (Missinger)

WFO:lrb  
(40)

1 - 100-443052 (Sandoz)

1 - 100-447003 (Pardue)

1 - 100-447957 (Spiegel)

1 - 100-438281 (Hoyden)

1 - 100-447282 (Dannenberg)

1 - 100-372163 (Rock)

55 FEB 2 1968

DUPLICATE YELLOW

NO  
165 JAN - 31 1968

78-111644-78  
b3  
b7E  
167  
FILED IN

Airtel to SAC, Boston  
RE: INVESTIGATION OF THE NEW LEFT  
(KEY ACTIVISTS)  
100-446997

At this time, the Bureau is designating the following individuals as Key Activists in the "new left" movement: New York, Gregory Alan Calvert, Linda M. Dannenberg, Jerry Clyde Rubin, Steven Edward Halliwell; Chicago, Carl Albert Davidson, Charles Clark Kissinger, Robert Milton Pardon; Boston, Nicholas Michael Egleson, Michael Louis Spiegel; Cincinnati, Carl Preston Oglosky; Cleveland, Sidney Morris Peck; San Francisco, Mario Robert Savio, Robert Scheer; Newark, David Dellinger, Thomas Emmett Hayden.

Of this group, the following are not on the Security Index: Calvert, Dannenberg, Halliwell, Pardon, Spiegel, and Egleson. The offices handling these individuals are instructed to immediately reopen their investigations concerning them and submit reports together with a recommendation concerning their Security Index status. When considering these individuals for the Security Index, particular attention should be placed to current Bureau instructions on page 45, Section 87D, of the Manual of Instructions concerning the Security Index criteria and especially Item (C).

Furthermore, an intensive investigation of each of the above-mentioned individuals should immediately be initiated with the objective of developing detailed and complete information regarding their day-to-day activities and future plans for staging demonstrations and disruptive acts directed against the Government. Because of their leadership and prominence in the "new left" movement, as well as the growing militancy of this movement, each office must maintain high-level informant coverage on these individuals so that the Bureau is kept abreast of their day-to-day activities as well as the organizations they are affiliated with, to develop information regarding their sources of funds, foreign contacts, and future plans.

In the event adequate live informant coverage is not immediately available on these individuals, other types of coverage such as technical surveillances and physical surveillances should be considered as a temporary measure to establish the necessary coverage.

Airtel to SAC, Boston  
RE: INVESTIGATION OF THE NEW LEFT  
(KEY ACTIVIST)  
100-446997

Each recipient office in which a Key Activist resides is instructed to submit a separate letter to the Bureau within 30 days from the date of this communication under the caption of each individual outlining what steps have been made to insure adequate informant coverage of these individuals.

Each recipient office is also instructed to remain alert for the addition of any individuals in their respective territories which would warrant intensified investigation and who fit the Key Activist category and submit their recommendations to the Bureau. In the future, when submitting communications concerning the individuals designated as Key Activists, these words should be added after the character except on communications such as reports and LHM's which will be disseminated outside of the Bureau. This will facilitate handling these cases at the Bureau. Reports should also be submitted to the Bureau every six months concerning these Key Activists.

This matter is being closely followed by the Bureau and you are expected to give the investigation of them individual continuous attention.

NOTE:

Item (C) on page 45 of Section 87D of the Manual of Instructions states that consideration should be given to placing those persons on the Security Index who have anarchistic or revolutionary beliefs and are likely to seize upon the opportunity presented by a national emergency to endanger the public safety as shown by overt actions and statements within the past three years.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D C 20520

JAN 16 1968

FBI LIAISON:

FOR INFORMATION ONLY

RE:

Thomas Emmett HAYDEN

BORN: December 11, 1939

PLACE: Detroit, Michigan

RESIDENCE:

631 Hunterdon  
Newark, New Jersey

BUREAU FILE NUMBER:

100-438281

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE:

Unknown

PASSPORT NUMBER:

H1351965 issued December 28, 1967  
at Washington, D.C. (valid to  
January 31, 1968)

Note: Passport was validated for  
one round trip to Cuba during  
January 1968

ATTORNEY:

TRAVEL PLANS

PORT OF DEPARTURE:

Unknown

DATE OF DEPARTURE:

December 30, 1967

MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION:

Air

PROPOSED LENGTH OF STAY:

Two weeks

COUNTRIES TO BE VISITED:

Cuba

PURPOSE OF TRIP:

Research and writing

NOT RECORDED

13 JAN 23 1968

Copy to *Newark*  
by routing slip for

☒ info ☐ action

54 JAN 25 1968

by *W.H.T.*

PASSPORT OFFICE

PT/L - Robert D. Johnson

*int. sec.*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 24 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI WASH DC

AM UR

FBI NEW ORLS

107 GENT 1-24-68 RDC

TO DIRECTOR

FROM NEW ORLEANS (105-NEW)

THOMAS HAYDEN, IS - NORTH VIETNAM.

EXAMINATION OF THE CONTENTS OF HAYDEN'S LUGGAGE BY SPECIAL AGENTS OF THE FBI ON JAN. TWENTHTHREE INSTANT REFLECTS SEVERAL LISTS OF AMERICAN PILOTS CAPTURED BY THE NORTH VIETNAMESE. ONE SUCH LIST INCLUDES THE PILOT'S FULL NAME, BIRTH PLACE, RANK, SERIAL NUMBER, TAKE-OFF BASE, TYPE OF AIRCRAFT AND DATE THE PILOT WAS SHOT DOWN.

ALSO INCLUDED IN THE MATERIAL EXAMINED WAS A LETTERHEAD ENTITLED "LIBERATION" FIVE BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK, ONE ZERO ZERO THREE EIGHT. AMONG NAMES APPEARING IN THE LETTERHEAD IS THOMAS HAYDEN, LISTED AS ONE OF THE ASSOCIATE EDITORS. ANOTHER LIST OF CAPTURED PILOTS APPEARING ON A "LIBERATION LETTERHEAD" HAD THE FOLLOWING NOTATION "LIST OF AMERICAN PILOTS IN DETENTION CAMPS WITH WHOM WE HAVE HAD SOME CONTACT." THIS LIST ALSO INCLUDES THE NAMES OF WIVES AND PARENTS AND THEIR ADDRESSES IN THE U.S.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

*mustang*

*COOPER*

*kg*

EX-105 REC 5 100-439251 54

15 JAN 30 1968

*1/14/68*

END PAGE ONE

54 FEB 6 1968

XEROX

JAN 1968

*FBI*

PAGE TWO

THE MATERIAL ALSO CONTAINED A TYPEWRITTEN LETTER MARKED "SAMPLE" IN PENCIL, ADDRESSED TO MRS. POLLACK (THE NAME MELVIN POLLACK APPEARED ON ONE OF THE PILOT LISTS) FROM TOM HAYDEN IN CARE OF THE LIBERATION ADDRESS. THE LETTER ADVISES THAT A LETTER FROM MELVIN POLLACK WAS ENCLOSED WHICH HAD BEEN GIVEN TO HAYDEN BY NORTH VIETNAMESE OFFICIALS WHILE HAYDEN WAS IN HANOI IN OCT., YEAR NOT INDICATED. HAYDEN STATES HE WAS INVOLVED IN THE RELEASE OF THREE U. S. SERGEANTS HELD PRISONER IN VIETNAM. HE ADVISES THAT ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT MEET POLLACK, HE MET OTHER PILOTS AND HIS IMPRESSION WAS THAT THEY WERE TREATED WELL. HE STATES HE WOULD LIKE TO MEET MR. AND MRS. POLLACK AND DISCUSS THE MATTER. HE ALSO INDICATES THAT RECENT INCREASED BOMBING OF HANOI AND HAIPHONG HAS PROBABLY ENDED ANY CHANCE OF POSSIBLE RELEASE OF THE PILOTS. HE ENDS THIS LETTER WITH A HOPE THAT AN EARLY END TO THE WAR WILL BRING MELVIN HOME TO THEM.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

LETTERS CONTAINED IN HAYDEN'S LUGGAGE SHOW HE RECEIVED RESPONSES FROM PARENTS AND WIVES OF CAPTURED PILOTS EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR THE INFORMATION HE FURNISHED TO THEM AND SOME ALSO EXPRESSED A DESIRE TO MEET HIM. THIS INFORMATION WAS SOMETIMES IN THE FORM OF A LETTER FROM A CAPTURED PILOT.

THE MATERIAL ALSO CONTAINED A LETTER FROM HAYDEN TO GOVERNOR HARRIMAN DATED DEC. FIFTEEN LAST WITH A RETURN ADDRESS OF LIBERATION AS NOTED PREVIOUSLY. <sup>T</sup>THIS LETTER REFLECTS GOV. HARRIMAN INDICATED AN INTEREST IN HAYDEN'S SUSPENDED PASSPORT AND ASKED IF HE MIGHT RECEIVE PASSPORT VALIDATION FOR A TRIP TO CUBA IN JAN. AS HE WAS A JOURNALIST AND WAS IN THE SAME CATEGORY AS DAVE DELLINGER AND OTHER LEFT WING JOURNALISTS. HE INDICATED PLANS<sup>/</sup>TO ATTEND A CULTURAL CONFERENCE IN HAVANA WHERE HE PLANNED TO SPEAK WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF NORTH VIETNAM AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (NLF).

END PAGE THREE



PAGE FOUR

THE MATERIAL ALSO CONTAINED COPIES OF THE ORDER OF  
LIBERATION FOR THREE AMERICANS BY THE NLF DATED OCT.  
THIRTYONE LAST AND WRITTEN IN FRENCH. A STATEMENT BY  
HAYDEN WAS ALSO INCLUDED IN THE MATERIAL IN SUPPORT OF  
THE NLF AND THE RELEASE OF THESE THREE PRISONERS.

ADMINISTRATIVE: WILL REFERENCE NEW ORLEANS TELETYPE  
JAN. TWENTYTHREE INSTANT.

LHM FOLLOWS.

AIRMAIL COPIES TO NEW YORK AND CHICAGO.

END

JMS

FBI WASH DC

APR 5 1968  
FBI

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>MEXICO CITY</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>BUREAU</b>	DATE <b>1/31/68</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>1/8 - 25/68</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>THOMAS HAYDEN</b>		REPORT MADE BY  <b>RUSSELL JEAN GRAY, JR.</b>	TYPED BY  <b>imt</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>IS - CUBA</b>	

## SYNOPSIS

Subject, a United States citizen, traveled to Cuba on 1/5/68. Subject is a journalist who was sent to cover the Cultural Congress of Havana.

RUC

## REFERENCE

New York airtel and LHM dated 12/27/67 entitled "Cultural Congress, Havana, Cuba, 1/4-11/68; IS - Cuba."

## ADMINISTRATIVE

To date, monitoring of return travel from Cuba

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT  
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE

10- Bureau

(1 - Liaison Section)

(4 - WFO)

1 - Mexico City [REDACTED]

100-438381-55-  
3 FEB 5 1968

REC-28

b3  
b7E

COPIES DESTROYED

9 25 SEP 7 1972

## Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	State, Fed, State, State
Revised	RECEIVED NK + WFO
Date Fwd.	2-5-68
How Fwd.	64
By	WNP RAYL

Notations

appropriate offices; agencies  
advised of class. by a/s 7/21/76  
DRH/14

LIMITED CLASSIFICATION REVIEW

This document was not  
reviewed in its entirety.  
Classification review was  
limited to:

Page Paragraph Page Paragraph

*B 1, 2 (only)*

on *10/24/79*

by *SP-1 gmk/ST*

File # *100-438281*

Serial *55*

FEB 3 3 45 PM '66

REC'D  
DOM INTELL DIV.

FEB 8 1 33 PM '66  
REC'D  
DOM INTELL DIV.

*100-438281-11*

[redacted]  
has failed to disclose the subject's return. When such information is received, it will be promptly furnished to the Bureau and interested offices.

SOURCES

Identity of Source

Location

T-1 is [redacted]

LEM

T-2 is [redacted]

T-3 is [redacted]

(S) U

b7D

CLASSIFICATION

This LEM is classified ~~SECRET~~ - No Foreign Dissemination in order to protect [redacted] whose compromise could reveal investigative coverage of a diplomatic establishment of a foreign power. Should his information in the future be downgraded, the LEM should be reclassified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ to protect other sources of continuing value whose compromise could affect the national defense. (S) U

b7D

LEADS

WFO

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

1) Will review subject's file at the United States Passport Office, passport number -1341965, to determine if travel to Cuba was authorized.

2) If travel was not authorized, will direct office covering subject's residence to conduct investigation per Section 105G, page four, Manual of Instructions.

Two extra copies of this report are provided for that purpose.

COVER PAGE

ES



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

~~SECRET~~

January 31, 1963

THOMAS HAYDEN

This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions of  
the FBI. It is the property of  
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;  
it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

[redacted] advised the Cuban  
Embassy in Mexico, D.F., that TOM HAYDEN would be among the  
journalists traveling to Cuba to cover the Cultural Congress  
of Havana scheduled for January 4 through 11, 1962. (S) U

(T-1 - 12/26/67)

The Cultural Congress of Havana had the  
publicly stated purpose of obtaining  
unity of action in the "anti-imperialist"  
fight and in defense of the cultural  
nucleus of the countries of the "Third  
World" against "imperialist" intellectual  
exploitation. (u)

The passenger manifest of Cuban Aviation  
Company flight 465 from Mexico, D.F., to Havana, Cuba,  
on January 5, 1963, listed THOMAS HAYDEN as passenger  
number 27. He was shown to be the bearer of United States  
passport 1351965 with a Cuban Courtesy Visa. He was  
destined to the Hotel Nacional in Havana and carried no  
luggage. (u)

(T-2 - 1/16/68)

Classified by 4417  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~SECRET~~

No Foreign Dissemination  
GROUP I

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and declassification

G-T  
7/28/76

~~SECRET~~

THOMAS HAYDEN

The file pertaining to the subject at the Mexican Department of Immigration was unavailable for review as it has been charged out personally to the Minister of Government (Interior).

(T-3 - 1/12/68.

~~(S)~~ U

2\*

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

January 31, 1968

**THOMAS HAYDEN**

This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions of  
the FBI. It is the property of  
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;  
it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

Reference is made to a memorandum dated and  
captioned as above.

T-1, T-2, and T-3, referred to in referenced  
memorandum, have furnished reliable information in the  
past.

1\*

COPIES DESTROYED  
9 25 SEP 7 1972

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>MEXICO CITY</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>BUREAU</b>	DATE <b>1/31/68</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>1/8 - 25/68</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>THOMAS HAYDEN</b>		REPORT MADE BY  <b>RUSSELL JEAN GRAY, JR.</b>	TYPED BY  <b>imt</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>IS - CUBA</b>	

SYNOPSIS

Subject, a United States citizen, traveled to Cuba on 1/5/68. Subject is a journalist who was sent to cover the Cultural Congress of Havana.

RUC

REFERENCE

New York airtel and LHM dated 12/27/67 entitled "Cultural Congress, Havana, Cuba, 1/4-11/68; IS - Cuba."

ADMINISTRATIVE

To date, monitoring of return travel from Cuba

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	ALTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
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APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
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Dissemination Record of Attached Report					Notations
Agency					
Request Recd.					
Date Fwd.					
How Fwd.					
By					



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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FBI

Date: 12, 20/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKERIS - C;  
ISA 1950  
(OO: NY)ReNYteletype to Bureau dated 10/18/65 entitled  
"THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN; SM-C".Enclosed for the Bureau and offices listed are copies  
of an LHM concerning APTHEKER.

Confidential source utilized in attached LHM is

This LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" since authorized  
disclosure of information attributed to informant may impair  
his future effectiveness and such impairment could have an  
adverse effect on the national defense!

4 - Bureau (1 - 100-123974) (RM) (VIDEM)  
 2 - Newark (Enclosures 2) (RM)  
 (1 - 100-40690) (THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN)  
 2 - New Haven (Enclosures 2) (RM)  
 (1 - 100-18293) (STAUGHTON LYND)  
 1 - New York (100-148904) (THOMAS HAYDEN) (43)  
 1 - New York (100-110521) (STAUGHTON LYND) (44)  
 1 - New York (100-154786) (VIDEM) (43)  
 1 - New York (100-80532)

ENCLOSURE

JJA:mgm  
(15)

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

NOT RECORDED

28 NOV 30 1965

AGENCY

REQ. REC.

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HOW FORW.

BY

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DEC 5 1965

DEC 9 1965

DEC 10 1965

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BUREAU COPY AND COPY OF ENCL. FILED IN

NY 100-80532

[redacted] furnished information to SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL. APTHEKER, STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN were observed departing John F. Kennedy International Airport, NYC, 12/19/65 by SA ASCHERL. b7D

New Haven and Newark will submit LHMs on STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN, respectively. For the information of these offices, [redacted] Passenger Agent, Air India, advised SA ASCHERL on 12/19/65 that STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN, in the company of HERBERT APTHEKER, boarded Air India Flight 116, 12/19/65, which departed Kennedy International Airport, NYC, 9:00 PM, en route London, England. At London, England, all three individuals had connecting reservations on British European Airlines Flight departing London, England, 11:00 AM, 12/20/65, for Prague, Czechoslovakia. b7D

[redacted] exhibited the I-94 on THOMAS E. HAYDEN which reflected his current address as 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, traveling on Passport Number F1027114. Photo in NYO file on THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, NY 100-148904, is identical with THOMAS E. HAYDEN observed in the company of LYND and APTHEKER departing Air India Flight 116, 12/19/65. b7D

STAUGHTON LYND was also identified from photo in NYO file 100-110531 on STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND, Professor at Yale University.

[redacted] advised that he checked passports of above three individuals to determine if they were in order and that all three had the same itinerary to Prague, Czechoslovakia. b7D

It should be noted that APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN were originally scheduled to depart New York on Sabena Flight 548 departing at 8:30 PM, 12/19/65. However, this flight cancelled at the last hour and they immediately booked passage on Air India Flight 116 departing 9:00 PM, 12/19/65.

As a security precaution, it was not deemed advisable at the Air India Terminal to press their personnel for a review by Special Agents of all I-94s departing on this flight. However, it is anticipated these I-94s will be in the possession of INS, NYC, on 12/21/65. A review will be conducted at that time to determine if possible whether any other individuals of interest to the Bureau departed for London on this Air India Flight.

NY 100-80532

It should be noted that no information has been received by the NYO as to the specific purpose of the trip to Hanoi on the part of the above three individuals. However, it is possible that said trip will be used for propaganda purposes against United States involvement in Viet Nam.

REGISTERED MAIL -  
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

JAN 5 1966

*Reply*

Dear Mr. Teagley:

Information has been furnished to this Department by the Federal Bureau of Investigation reflecting that Herbert Aptheker, Staughton Lynd and Thomas Lamett Hayden are traveling to North Viet Nam.

The information, contained in FBI memoranda dated December 9, 1965 and December 14, 1965 reflects that the above individuals would depart from New York on December 19, 1965, arrive in Prague on December 20 and proceed from there to Hanoi.

Herbert Aptheker is the bearer of Passport No. B 681400 issued on July 10, 1964. Staughton Lynd was issued Passport [redacted] on December 8, 1965 at Boston. Thomas Lamett Hayden was issued Passport No. F 1027114 on December 16, 1965 at New York. None of these individuals have passports validated for travel in North Viet Nam.

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b7c

In view of the presently available information these cases are referred to you for consideration of prosecution under 8 USC 1185 and 18 USC 1544.

This Department is presently in the process of checking with its posts in the Far East in an effort to obtain further information and evidence concerning the travel of these individuals. We will keep you advised of all developments.

Sincerely yours,

Abba M. Schwartz

The Honorable J. Walter Teagley,  
Assistant Attorney General,  
Internal Security Division,  
Department of Justice.

53 JAN 19 1966  
Director, FBI

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# U.S. Going Slow in Punitive Action Against Lynd

By JOHN W. FINNEY  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10—For fear of upsetting its current peace offensive, the Johnson Administration is deliberately refraining from any immediate punitive action against Staughton Lynd for traveling to North Vietnam.

In the opinion of State Department legal experts there is no question but that the Yale assistant professor and his two traveling companions violated United States laws and regulations governing travel by American citizens in their unauthorized 10-day visit to Hanoi.

But both the State and Justice Departments, apparently acting on orders from the White House, have decided to go slow in taking any legal action against Mr. Lynd and his two companions—Herbert Aptheker, who is generally considered to be the leading theoretician of the Communist party in the United States and who serves as director of the American Institute for Marxist Studies; and Thomas Hayden, a founder of the Students for a Democratic Society.

The three arrived last night at Kennedy International Airport on their return from a private fact-finding trip to explore Hanoi's terms for a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam War.

## Hanoi Reaction Weighed

Behind this Administration decision, according to officials, is a concern that any immediate punitive action could becloud the current peace offensive being waged by the White House to bring North Vietnam to the negotiating table.

Thus, the fear of Administration officials is that Hanoi would seize upon any action

## Fears Penalty Over Trip to Vietnam Might Hurt the Efforts to Gain Peace

against the three, who ostensibly were on a peace-making mission to North Vietnam, as evidence of American lack of interest and hypocrisy in achieving a peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese War.

This position helps explain, according to officials, why the Government has thus far made no move to recall the passports of the three and is postponing a decision on whether to bring criminal charges.

Under United States laws an American citizen is forbidden to leave the United States without a valid passport. This has been interpreted by the executive branch and the courts to mean that a person cannot leave the United States with the intention of going to a country to which travel has been prohibited by the State Department. Without an exemption, all American passports are stamped invalid for travel to Albania, Communist China, North Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba.

## Passport Recall Possible

The maximum criminal penalty for violation of the law is a \$5,000 fine or five-year imprisonment or both. The more common and immediate punitive step, however, is the Administrative action of revoking the passport of anyone who violates the law.

The State Department, however, has made no move thus far to recall the passports, although such a step is not being excluded for the future. The procedure that has been fol-

lowed in the past is to send a letter withdrawing a passport. The letter is delivered to the passport holder by immigration authorities upon his return to the United States.

The State Department did send out instructions to American consulates along Mr. Lynd's likely return route ordering that his passport be stamped valid only for return to the United States. But this action was not carried out because, according to officials, the consulate representatives had no contact with Mr. Lynd on his return by way of Moscow and Paris.

Neither the Administration nor the legislative branch seemed in a hurry to obtain any information Mr. Lynd may have brought back on Hanoi's peace terms. The State Department said it had not been in contact with the professor, and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee made no move to grant Mr. Lynd his requested hearing.

## Lynd Back in Class

Special to The New York Times

NEW HAVEN, Jan. 10 — Mr. Lynd said here today that the "physical withdrawal of American troops" need not precede negotiations to end the war in Vietnam.

However, a "clear decision" by the United States to remove its troops "would be a prerequisite," Mr. Lynd said at a news conference at which he reported on his talks with North Vietnamese officials.

Mr. Lynd met his first class this afternoon.

Asked how he regarded the "legality" of his trip, Mr. Lynd replied:

"I hope the United States Government will regard our trip as an effort to exemplify the President's offer 'to knock on any door.'"

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
The New York Times 3 \_\_\_\_\_  
The Baltimore Sun \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
Date 1-11-66

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by Letter 1-6-77

Per FOIA Request

*See M. L. (Hagelin)*  
*Ed/ell*

*62-111917-7*  
*100-123794-1*



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE. 1-11-66

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT. The Congressional Record

Pages A21-A22. Congressman Fisher, (D) Texas, extended his remarks concerning the unauthorized trip to Hanoi by three American citizens, Herbert Goldacker, Staughton Lynd, and Thomas Hayden, and pointed out that it has been reported by the press that the Justice Department is reviewing several laws that might be applicable to this unauthorized trip. He stated "Does this conduct constitute a violation of our laws? That is the question the Justice Department is now trying to determine. If there is substantial evidence of their guilt, then it would seem that they should be prosecuted. - - - Moreover, their travel in defiance of the law which requires them to clear the trip with the State Department would seem to present an open-and-shut case against them."

-3-

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Per FOIA Request 2/1/62

*Mr. M. L. ...*  
*...*

62-111917-  
100-123974-

NOT RECORDED  
199 JAN 18 1966

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 1-10-66 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau files or subject matter files.

410 JAN 25 1966

66-1731-11

## Domestic Intelligence Division

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 1-16-66

Attached relates to public meeting Sunday at which Herbert Aptheker, Staughton Lynd, and Thomas Hayden, who returned from "Peace Mission" to North Vietnam related their activities in Hanoi. Internal Security Division of Department has been furnished complete details and is considering prosecutive action under several statutes. Information regarding meeting is being furnished Internal Security Division and Department of State.

DTS

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WCS/DT3

LIMITED CLASSIFICATION REVIEW

4 This document was not reviewed in its entirety. Classification review was limited to:

Page   Paragraph , Page   Paragraph

1   Synopsis

48   All

9   All

8   11

on ~~the~~ 5-31-79

by bja

File # 62-111917

Serial 10

Of these pgs & a previous release was made in reference to the Tom Hayden & Jane Fonda

2/9/66

Airtel

1 - Mr. Reddy

To: SAC, New York  
From: Director, FBI (100-123974)

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND  
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

ReButel 2/4/66 and urtels 2/7/66.

Department has requested that airline records and any other sources be checked in an effort to develop evidence to establish the complete itinerary of subjects from the time of their departure from the United States until their arrival in Hanoi, North Vietnam.

It is noted that in the report of Special Agent Vincent J. Ascherl dated January 25, 1966, at New York, information is set out under the caption "Itinerary of Subjects" to the effect that the subjects traveled to London, England, via Air India, Flight 116, on 12/19/65 and to Prague, Czechoslovakia, on British European Airlines, flight number unknown, which was scheduled to depart from London at 11 a.m., 12/20/65. There is no information from an admissible source regarding subjects' further itinerary. It is noted that upon return to the United States, the subjects admitted in a statement to the press that they traveled to Hanoi via London, Prague, Moscow, and Peking.

While it is doubtful that evidence to establish the above complete itinerary can be developed, New York should assure that no possibility is overlooked in this regard. Suairtel whether all possibilities have been exhausted in an effort to develop the information requested by the Department regarding the complete itinerary of subjects.

NOTE: Department is considering possible prosecutive action against Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden as a result of their unauthorized trip to North Vietnam. Request for above information received telephonically this morning from Department Attorney

Brandon Alvey.

EBR:jag (4)

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COMM-FBI

REC-75

EX-117

WBS

REC-75

Finally, it was requested that we be furnished copies of any documents or other material which may have been taken from the subjects by Customs Agents upon their return to the United States. In the event it is not practicable to copy a document because of its bulk, a description of such material will suffice.

2/17/66

1 - Mr. Reddy

Airtel

To: SACs, New York (100-80532)  
Miami  
Washington Field (100-44569)  
From: Director, FBI (100-123974) *REC-87.62-111717-18*

HERBERT APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON LYND  
THOMAS HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

By letter February 15, 1966, the Department requested advice as to the availability for interview and testimony of the confidential informants designated as T-6, T-7 and T-8 in the report of Special Agent Vincent J. Ancherl dated January 25, 1966, at New York, New York.

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It is noted that the symbols T-6 and T-7 relate to panel sources [redacted] respectively, and that T-8 is [redacted]

New York suairtel availability of [redacted] for interview by Department attorneys and for possible testimony. The Bureau will handle the question relative to the availability of [redacted]

Department also requested advice as to availability of confidential informants WF T-1 and T-2 in Washington Field LHM dated January 25, 1966. These symbols relate to panel source [redacted] respectively.

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Washington Field suairtel availability of [redacted] for interview by Department attorneys and for possible testimony.

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2/23/66

1 - Mr. Reddy

Airtel

To: SAC, New York (100-80532)

From: Director, FBI (100-123974)

REC 8  
62-111917-19  
57-104  
5-13  
HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND  
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

Reurairtel 2/17/66.

The members of the crew of the 12/19/65 Air India Flight Number 116 from New York to London who were in a position to and might have entered into a discussion with Aptheker, Lynd or Hayden while en route to London should be interviewed to determine whether any admissions were made by any of the three that their ultimate destination was North Vietnam.

If the manifest for this flight is available, passengers who reside in the New York City area should be similarly interviewed. Pictures of Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden may be utilized in connection with any interviews conducted. Submit FD 302's if any positive information developed.

Expedite recontact with [ ] to determine feasibility of interviewing Saul Rosenbaum who was allegedly on the same flight with Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden from Prague to Moscow. Since Rosenbaum was apparently on a valid business trip to the Soviet Union, this information would be known to the Department of State and possibly other government agencies and an approach to Rosenbaum could possibly be made on the basis that he was known to have traveled to the Soviet Union at approximately the same time as Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden and that he was being contacted to determine the possibility that he might have encountered them in Moscow. It does not appear that such an approach would jeopardize

b7D

EBR:jas (4)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

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File 12/17  
62-111917-19

Airtel to New York  
RE: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND  
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

[ ] however, your recommendation regarding interviewing Rosenbaum should be submitted to the Bureau following contact with [ ]

b7D

NOTE:

In connection with possible prosecution of Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden for unauthorized travel to North Vietnam, we are attempting to develop evidence that at the time they departed from the United States, they had the specific intent to travel to North Vietnam. Information from Air India confirms travel as far as Prague but no further. State Department is conducting inquiry at London, Prague and Moscow for any pertinent information.

Information that Saul Rosenbaum of New York City was on the flight with Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden from Prague to Moscow was obtained by informant [ ] Saul Rosenbaum. Although Rosenbaum is not the subject of a security investigation, the president of the company by which he is employed is the subject of a security investigation in New York. This company does a substantial business with the Soviet Union in textiles.

b7D



F B I

Date: 2/17/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND  
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

ReBuairtel, 2/9/66.

[redacted] Passenger Agent, Air India, John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, NY, was recontacted by SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL 2/15/66. He had originally advised that subjects departed New York on Air India Flight 116 on 12/19/65, for London, England. He furnished additional information that their connecting flight in London on British European Airlines was flight number 918, departing London 12/20/65, and arriving Prague, Czechoslovakia, same date.

[redacted] could furnish no further information concerning subjects' itinerary. It is noted that he has declined to testify in this case.

Review of HERBERT APTHEKER file NYO, reflects information received from [redacted] on 12/28/65, to the effect that [redacted]

[redacted] was on the same plane with APTHEKER, apparently on the flight from Prague to Moscow. This information was obtained by informant [redacted]

3-Bureau (100-123974) (RM)

1-NY (100-80532) (42)

VJA:rmv  
(6)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

b7D

b7D

b6  
b7C  
b7Db3  
b7E

REC 8

ST-104

8 FEB 18 1966

INT. SEC. DIV.  
L. S. [redacted]

NY 100-80532

Scheuer and Company are textile brokers and are doing a substantial business with the Soviets in textiles. [redacted] of the company and is subject of [redacted] Information concerning [redacted] and his company has been furnished the Bureau (refer Bufile [redacted]). SAUL ROSENBAUM is not subject of security investigation NYO.

b3  
b7E

[redacted] is being recontacted for any possible additional information bearing upon ROSENBAUM's travel with APTHEKER. Direct contact with ROSENBAUM by NYO in this matter might jeopardize security of [redacted] Results of recontact with [redacted] will be furnished promptly to Bureau and further consideration will be given by NYO to an interview with ROSENBAUM, as soon as recontact with [redacted] can be arranged.

b7D

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

March 1, 1966

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Reddy

HERBERT APHILKEE  
STAUGHTON LYND  
THOMAS HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

Reference is made to your letter dated February 15, 1966, requesting advice as to the availability for testimony at a possible future trial of the captioned subjects of certain sources listed in the report of Special Agent Vincent J. Ascherl dated January 25, 1966, at New York, New York, and in the memorandum dated January 26, 1966, at Washington, D. C.

The source designated as T-6 in the report of Special Agent Ascherl has advised that [redacted] he is apprehensive as to the effect testifying would have on his health. Accordingly, he does not desire to testify.

The source designated as T-7 in Special Agent Ascherl's report is [redacted] is available for interview by Department attorneys and for testimony if necessary. [redacted]

[redacted] was made available to the Department for testimony at the first [redacted]

The source designated as T-8 in Special Agent Ascherl's report is currently furnishing security information of extreme value and is not available for interview or testimony.

REC-67

100-123974

2 - New York (100-80532)

2 - Washington Field (100-44569)

EBR:jas (8)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

**Mr. J. Walter Yeagley**

For your further information, it has been determined that an additional source of this Bureau's New York Office was present at the January 16, 1966, meeting at Manhattan Center, New York City, at which Aptheker, Lynd and Mayden spoke of their travel to North Vietnam. This source is being contacted to determine his availability for interview and possible testimony. You will be advised in this regard in the immediate future.

The source designated as WF T-1 in the memorandum dated January 25, 1966, at Washington, D. C., is [redacted]

[redacted] is available for interview and for testimony if necessary.

The source designated as WF T-2 in this memorandum originally signified her availability for interview and testimony but later reconsidered her position and expressed an unwillingness to be interviewed by Department attorneys or to testify.

For the Department's additional information, both sections of Staughton Lynd's January 24, 1966, speech at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D. C., were recorded by James McGovern, the hotel's security officer, and copies of the tapes were made available to this Bureau's Washington Field Office. It is not known whether McGovern had permission to record the speeches from either Lynd or the organization which sponsored Lynd's appearance. It has been determined, however, that the recordings were made in a room adjoining the speaker's platform and were taped through the hotel's loud-speaker system. The copies of the recordings prepared by McGovern are available for review by Department attorneys.

NOTE: Classified "Confidential" as it relates to possible prosecutive plans involving current informants the disclosure of whom would adversely affect the national defense.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 2/18/66

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
 1 - Mr. Sullivan  
 1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
 1 - Mr. Rozamus  
 1 - Mr. Reddy

SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER  
 STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND  
 THOMAS EUGENE HAYDEN  
 UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM  
 MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT  
 LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b6

b7C

By letter 2/15/66, the Department inquired regarding the availability of certain sources for testimony in the possible future trial of Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden for their recent unauthorized travel to Vietnam.

Three of the five sources listed by the Department are panel sources and another is a potential security informant. There should be no difficulty with reference to these four sources testifying since they were directed by the New York and Washington Field Offices to cover certain activities for the specific purpose of testifying if this case should come to trial.

The fifth source listed by the Department is [REDACTED] one of our top-ranking informants. This informant [REDACTED] and has recently been instructed [REDACTED]

In addition, the informant's [REDACTED]

The information furnished by this informant in which the Department is interested relates to the January 17, 1966, session of a National Committee meeting of the Communist Party, USA, during which Aptheker spoke regarding his trip to North Vietnam and regarding his meeting with members of the Central Committee of the North Vietnam Communist Party.

CONTINUED - OVER

EBR:jas (6)

1 MAR 3 1966

NY REC-67  
2 WFO

Classified by 4417 GTT mmp/22/16  
 Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
 Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 MAR 2 1966

3010R

NY, WFO, CD(155) NOTIFIED OF CLASSIFICATION 6/25/16 VIA R/S. AJS:mmp

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND  
THOMAS EUGENE HAYDEN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OBSERVATIONS:

Since it appears that the testimony of [ ] would be purely cumulative since Aptheker has made statements similar to that he made at the National Committee meeting at other meetings which were open to the public and regarding which testimony is available from other sources and further in view of the key Party assignments to be handled in the near future by both the informant [ ] it is felt that the Department should be advised that this informant is not available for interview or testimony in connection with any future prosecutive action against Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden.

b7D

RECOMMENDATION:

If you approve, the Department will, at the time we furnish information regarding the availability of other sources, be advised that [ ] is currently furnishing security information of extreme value and is not available for interview or testimony.

b7D

WBR  
Jed WJ  
OK  
H  
✓  
P  
S  
GRC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 2/21/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-45394) (P)

SUBJECT: HERBERT APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON LYND  
THOMAS HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

ReWFOairtel to Bureau, 2/18/66.

PSI [ ] mentioned in referenced airtel as being available for interview and testimony, advised on 2/19/66, that after discussing her possible testimony with her husband, her husband had expressed a desire that she not testify in the above captioned matter.

For info of the Bureau, WFO is in possession of copies of tapes of each session of talks given by STAUGHTON LYND on the evening of 1/24/66. The original tapes were made available by the Security Officer of the Washington Hilton Hotel. The Bureau may wish to make these tapes available to the Department for review.

③ - Bureau  
1 - WFO

GTT:sch  
(4)

AIRTEL

MAR 3 1966

REC-67

62-111917-22  
100-1-5711

5 CR

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

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b7C  
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F B I

Date: 3/2/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER;  
 STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND;  
 THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN;  
 UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIET NAM  
 MISUSE OF PASSPORT  
 LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

ReNYairtel to Bureau, 3/1/66.

In addition to the individuals from the New York City area listed in referenced airtel who took the same Air India Flight from New York, on 12/19/65, as did the subjects, it is pointed out that JULIAN R. COLES, United States Passport Number [redacted] was also on this flight.

JULIAN R. COLES gave an address of [redacted] Inquiry at this address of Mrs. WILSON JOHNSON determined that JULIAN COLES does reside there.

The JOHNSONS are friends of the COLES family and JULIAN COLES [redacted]

[redacted] reside in Belgium and he was making this trip to visit them.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Baltimore (RM) (encs. 3)
- 1 - New York

VJA:gfb  
(7)

REC-29

EX-113

~~INT. SEC.~~

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

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b7c

62-111917-28

~~SEC~~



NY 100-80532

For the information of the Baltimore Office, above subjects departed New York, on Air India Flight 116, 12/19/65, bound for London, England. Their ultimate destination was Hanoi, North Vietnam.

Department attorneys wish to determine whether subjects made any admissions while en route to London, that their ultimate destination was Hanoi. Accordingly, certain of the passengers aboard this flight will be interviewed.

It is believed that JULIAN R. COLES was in close proximity to the subjects, since he was bound for Brussels, Belgium, and may have had a previous reservation on Sabena Flight 548, which was scheduled to depart from John F. Kennedy International Airport at 8:30 p.m., on the same date.

This flight was canceled at the last moment. It will be noted that APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN had earlier reservations on Sabena Flight 548, and at the last moment they booked passage on Air India Flight 116, when the Sabena flight was canceled.

If an interview with JULIAN R. COLES is desired, the Bureau is requested to so instruct the Baltimore Office.

Enclosed for Baltimore is one photograph of each of the subjects, which should be displayed to COLES in the event the Bureau instructs that he be interviewed.

*1/10/66*

FBI

Date: 3/3/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: Director, FBI (100-123974)

FROM: SAC, Detroit (100-16293)

HERBERT APTHEKER;  
STAUGHTON LYND;  
THOMAS HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

Re Bureau airtel to Detroit, 2/28/66.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are ten copies of an LHM relating to captioned matter.

The source utilized in enclosed LHM is [redacted], whose identity is being protected at his request. He attended the described meeting at Ann Arbor, Mich., and on 2/11/66, made available to the Detroit Office a tape recording made by him on the evening of 2/10/66 when APTHEKER spoke. This tape recording is in the process of being transcribed at Detroit and upon completion of same, copies will be designated the Bureau and appropriate offices.

The information contained in enclosed LHM was obtained by an audio review of the tape recording. This information is being attributed to [redacted] as the original source as he is the individual who made the tape recording available.

The LHM is classified confidential to protect the identity of the source utilized in enclosed LHM in view of the fact that he has a potential of future value to the Detroit Office.

ENCLOSURE

3 - Bureau (Enc. 10) (RM)

2 - Detroit

(1 - 100-29519 PUBLIC APPEARANCES OF CP LEADERS)

MHS/rms

(5)

C. C. Wick

AGENCY [redacted]  
BY [redacted]  
Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

59 MAR 10 1966

Special Agent in Charge

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b3  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Detroit, Michigan  
March 3, 1966

Re: Herbert Aptheker

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on February 11, 1966, advised that on the evening of February 10, 1966, Herbert Aptheker spoke at Rackham Auditorium, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Aptheker, in his speech, commented on his recent trip to North Vietnam.

He opened his speech by quoting remarks attributed to President Abraham Lincoln made when he was a newly-elected Congressman from the State of Illinois, during which time a war was going on with Mexico. At that time, Lincoln was critical of the actions of President Polk and accused him of deceiving the public about the circumstances of that war.

Aptheker stated that everywhere in North Vietnam, there are air raid shelters and the attitude of the people of North Vietnam is one of calm determination. He stated that the North Vietnamese love their children and their independence. They pride themselves in their villages, their farms and their labors.

He stated that due to the bombing of certain areas in North Vietnam by United States planes, travel in these areas is only at night.

He stated that he had a conversation with a Roman Catholic priest in North Vietnam who asked what the North Vietnamese had done to America and why were the Americans bombing the North Vietnamese. He stated that this bombing is cruel and inhuman.

Aptheker stated that he had visited the (German) concentration camps 21 years ago while in the United States field artillery. There he saw the ovens used for cremation. He stated that now the crematoria are being made in the United States, are portable, and are napalm and phosphorus bombs which are dropped on the North Vietnamese.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
ENCLOSURE

62-111917-29  
100-123474-592

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Herbert Aptheker

Aptheker indicated that the interest of the United States in North Vietnam actually lies in its natural resources such as tin, tungsten, etc., which we desire to keep available for our use.

Aptheker commented on the Geneva Agreement of 1954, comparing it to the Treaty of Paris of 1783. He stated both treaties were entered into after prolonged negotiations by defeated colonial powers. In the earlier case, the defeated colonial power was Great Britain and in the latter case, France was the defeated colonial power. In the former case, the colonial people who received their independence were the American people and in the latter case, the colonial people who received their independence were the Vietnamese.

The Geneva Agreement of 1954 was a generous one offered by the victorious Vietnamese people to the defeated French colonialists. Thus the Geneva Agreement of 1954 represented concessions to the French and created a temporary non-political division of Vietnam into North Vietnam and South Vietnam. This agreement required the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam and prohibited the introduction of foreign troops into Vietnam by anybody for any reason whatsoever and set down procedures for re-unification of Vietnam. Aptheker cited several quotations which indicated that the United States should withdraw its troops from Vietnam, recognize Vietnamese independence and allow for unification of North and South Vietnam.

Aptheker stated that he has reason to know that the Vietnamese take very seriously the agreements reached at the 1957 and 1960 conferences of the workers and Communist Parties of the world. There it was agreed that a prime task was to exert every effort to further the cause of national liberation and to prevent world war. Both were viewed as two sides of the same anti-colonial effort. The present struggle against the United States Government's policy of aggression in Vietnam is held to be exactly that kind of a struggle. This war in Vietnam, then, is an attempt at achievement of national liberation and prevention of world war by the North Vietnamese.

Aptheker advised that the Vietnamese emphasize the distinction between the American people and the current policy of the United States. They value most highly the impressive efforts for peace being waged by a segment of the American

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Herbert Aptheker

people and do not seek the defeat of the United States. They are not waging war against the United States and do not seek the destruction or capture of American cities. Instead, they are seeking to defeat the American aggression upon their soil. They seek to defeat the American Government's aggressive foreign policy as expressed in the bombing and burning of their country, and that is all they seek.

Aptheker called for a reversal of the present foreign policy of the United States, saying that such a reversal would be in the best interests of the people of Vietnam, of the United States and of the entire world. He called for a withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam; the cessation of bombing of North Vietnam; a reconvening of the Geneva Conference participants; and a general secret election in Vietnam supervised by the Geneva International Commission.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

March 10, 1966

Director, FBI

REC-13

EX-104 1 - Mr. Reddy

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND  
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

Reference is made to your letter dated February 24, 1966, referring to the fact that the captioned individuals had apparently been interviewed in Hanoi, North Vietnam, by a correspondent of "The New York Times" and requesting advice as to the name of this correspondent and as to his availability and willingness to testify in the event prosecutive action is initiated in this case.

It has been determined that the interview referred to in your letter was conducted telephonically from Moscow, USSR, by the Associated Press correspondent in that city. There is attached a copy of an article datelined December 31, at Moscow, entitled "U. S. Leftist, in Hanoi, Says Lull in Raids Produces No Reaction." This article which appeared in the January 1, 1966, issue of "The New York Times," clearly points out the details of this telephonic interview.

In view of the above facts and since the information obtained by the Associated Press correspondent was based on a telephonic interview as described, no attempt will be made to have this correspondent interviewed by the Department of State in Moscow in the absence of a specific request from you.

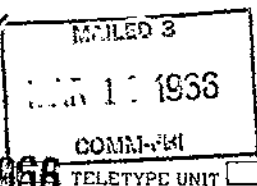
Enclosure

Deleted Copy Sent See Max Hayden  
by Letter 11-1-71  
Per FOIA Request 8-1-71

EBR:jas (4)

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Tolson  
DeLoach  
Mohr  
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Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy



54 APR 7 1966

3/15/66

1 - Mr. Reddy

RA  
Airtel

EX-101

REC-3

To: SAC, New York

From: Director, FBI

HERBERT APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON LYND  
THOMAS HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT

Attached is a copy of a letter from the Department dated March 4, 1966, suggesting the feasibility of interviewing John McDermott, Associate Editor of "Viet Report" in an effort to establish the intent of Staughton Lynd to travel to North Vietnam;

Suairtel your observations and recommendations as to whether an interview should be conducted with McDermott.

Enclosure

NOTE:

Newspaper accounts of the recent unauthorized travel to North Vietnam by Herbert Aptheker, Staughton Lynd and Thomas Hayden indicate that Lynd allegedly undertook this travel as a reporter for the magazine "Viet Report" which is published in New York City and which is critical of United States policy in Vietnam. Although McDermott, who is Associate Editor of this magazine has openly discussed with the press Lynd's travel to North Vietnam and his association with "Viet Report," it is felt, because of the nature of the magazine, that New York's observations and recommendations regarding an interview with McDermott should be obtained.

EBR:jas (4)

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ENCLOSURES FOR BUREAU (C)

Ref: 100-128974

Airtel dated 3/7/66





(Staughton Lynd, assistant professor of history at Yale University, traveled to Hanoi in December 1965 on a fact finding mission attempting to clarify the peace terms of the North Vietnam government and the southern National Liberation Front. He traveled with Thomas Hayden, a founder of Students for a Democratic Society, and Herbert Aptheker, a leading Communist theoretician. Staughton Lynd, a "radical pacifist" has been in the

forefront of many activities undertaken by sections of the peace movement and was also active in the civil rights movement, developing the program for the first Freedom Schools in Mississippi.

Washington area Women Strike for Peace invited Mr. Lynd to speak about his trip and the following speech was given to 1,000 people at the Washington Hilton Hotel on January 24th.)

62-111917-33  
108-123474-602

## WHAT SHOULD THE UNITED STATES DO IN VIETNAM?

During the last month, millions of people in this country and around the world have dared to hope that peace might be possible.

### U.S. PEACE OFFENSIVE

Now the President, the Secretary of State and other Administration spokesmen tell us: For a month we have made every possible effort on behalf of peace. We have offered to knock on any door, to go to any place, to talk with any group about peace in Vietnam. We have offered unconditional discussions. We have clarified our war aims. But from the other side no response has been forthcoming. Reluctantly, therefore, we must prepare to fulfill our commitments and to continue to resist aggression, with whatever manpower the task requires.

This, roughly, is the American government's assessment of the purpose and result of its celebrated peace offensive.

### OPPOSITE ASSESSMENT

I disagree fundamentally with this assessment. Conversations with spokesmen of the North Vietnamese government and the National Liberation

Front in Prague, Moscow, Peking and Hanoi suggest the following evaluation:

1. Despite the bombing pause, the United States government has continued to escalate the war. Thus it has authorized "hot pursuit" into Cambodia, admitted the bombing of Laos from bases in Thailand, admitted the use of toxic chemicals, and landed in South Vietnam since December 20th new troops approximately equal in number to the total number of North Vietnamese troops allegedly there. The message signalled by our military actions has been a confused message, and it would be tragically unfair and premature to draw conclusions from the DRV and NLF response thus far.

2. Neither by word nor deed has the United States government indicated a readiness to knock on the door of those with whom we are fighting: the National Liberation Front. This confirms the other side in its suspicion that the United States government still insists on controlling the political destiny of South Vietnam. When Administration rhetoric refers to knocking on any door, speaking with any group, but Administration action declines direct contact with its immediate antagonist, how can

it expect its peace offensive to be regarded as sincere?

3. Accordingly, I believe that the Vietnamese people, the American peace movement and world public opinion, are justified in saying to the United States government that if the "peace offensive" stops now it will rightly be regarded as a public relations maneuver; and that if the Administration wishes the world to believe that it has exhausted the possibilities of peace, it must:

a. Continue the bombing pause indefinitely, to give the DRV and NLF time to digest the United States initiative.

b. Clarify this initiative by military de-escalation in South Vietnam as well as North Vietnam.

c. Unequivocally declare its readiness to talk directly with the National Liberation Front about the concrete political circumstances under which the United States would withdraw its troops from Vietnam.

This formulation of those indispensable further actions which a thoroughgoing peace initiative requires is strikingly similar to that presented yesterday by Martin Luther King and hundreds of other clergymen from all over the world in their moving appeal. Let me say a word more about the meaning of direct contact.

#### DIRECT CONTACT

Mr. Moyers and a variety of auxiliary sources have apparently agreed that on December 29th an official passed a note to an official of the government of North Vietnam. If it is true, it is welcome news. But it seems to me at least that the transmission of one letter hardly fulfills the December 20th promise to pursue peace relentlessly, not just to be available for it but to find ways and means of bringing the enemy to the conference table. Nor does it mitigate in any way the failure to make contact with the NLF.

#### TALKING TO THE OTHER SIDE

Our trip illustrated the possibility of talking -- not just passing notes, but talking -- with the other side. If President Johnson wished to knock on the NLF door, he could do so by simply picking up the telephone. I know this because I did it myself last Friday morning. Wishing to inquire before tonight as to the Front's most recent statement of its position, I placed a call after breakfast to the NLF office in Prague. Within an hour and a quarter I was speaking to a Front representative who, incidentally, was fluent in English.

I am not so simple-minded as to suppose that wars can be ended by after-breakfast telephone calls. But somehow, somehow there must be a beginning in dialogue with our antagonist. Words on paper and the good offices of third parties just cannot take the place of direct conversation. Therefore, in all seriousness I ask whether President Johnson has the right to order a resumption of bombing, the doubling of American troops, and the general escalation of the terrible mutual slaughter

in Vietnam, until he has picked up the phone.

I might add that the representative of the Front to whom I spoke, while making it quite clear that his words were not definitive, said that so far as he knew there had been no American effort to make direct contact with the NLF.

#### WORLD OPINION

World public opinion supports the demand that the United States government talk directly with the Front. An open letter of European intellectuals took this position before our group left the United States December 19th. Last Thursday, January 20, the Secretary General of the United Nations expressed the same thought. On January 22nd the New York Times reported Secretary Rusk's belief that world response to the United States' peace offensive had been "overwhelmingly favorable"; and yet a story on the next page of the same paper for the same day stated that in Japan, the Asian nation most sympathetic to the United States, "most Japanese seem to feel that Washington is unrealistic in trying to exclude the National Liberation Front from attending the peace negotiations as a full participant."

The fourteen points enunciated by President Johnson just after Christmas revealed a hopeful flexibility about many aspects of a peace settlement, particularly in endorsing the eventual reunification of North and South Vietnam. But on this question of dealing directly with the NLF the Administration showed no flexibility at all. It still clings to the notion that the Front can make its voice heard as part of a North Vietnamese delegation, as if to forget the insistence of John Jay, John Adams and Benjamin Franklin in 1782 that England make peace with them not with their French ally.

#### "AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH"

The Administration's refusal to recognize the NLF stems from its theory that what we face in Vietnam is "aggression from the North." But that theory commands less and less support from responsible observers, even in the United States. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., one of the Administration's two principal defenders at the National Teach-In here last May, stated in New York ten days ago that the war in South Vietnam began as a spontaneous uprising against the Diem regime.

Columnist Richard Starnes, one of the harshest critics of peace activity here in Washington last August, wrote last Friday:

Diem was almost wholly a creation of Washington, and particularly of the CIA. There has never been any shred of credible evidence that any significant numbers of South Vietnamese ever vowed allegiance to Diem. . . . Moreover, the fact is that substantial North Vietnamese intervention did not take place until after the Diem regime refused to hold the elections that had been the bedrock of the Geneva accord. . . . The State Department's white paper of February 1965 tried to prove that there

had been significant North Vietnamese intervention, and failed significantly.

Parenthetically, one wonders why, if Washington is as eager as it says it is to discern some North Vietnamese "response," Robert McCloskey confidently brushed aside the fact that no contact with North Vietnamese troops has been reported in South Vietnam since the peace offensive began. I continue to believe that this may have been why Premier Pham Van Dong, in his written answers to our questions, went out of his way so categorically to deny the presence of any DRV "forces" in the South.

#### "SO-CALLED NLF"

In his January 21st press conference Secretary Rusk gratuitously referred to the "so-called National Liberation Front" and then asserted that "the overwhelming majority" of the South Vietnamese people "want something other than the Liberation Front has been offering." This statement flies in the face of ex-President Eisenhower's assertion in his memoirs that 80% of the people of Vietnam would have voted for Ho Chi Minh at the end of their war with France; it contradicts Senator Russell's statement on television last summer that a majority of the people of South Vietnam would probably vote for Ho if a plebiscite were held today; and it is hard to reconcile with Senator Mansfield's report that total Vietcong strength is "steadily increasing despite . . . serious casualties" and that while "the majority of the population remains under nominal government control . . . dominance of the countryside rests largely in the hands of the Vietcong." While we were in North Vietnam, an authoritative article by "observer" in the Hanoi People's Daily quoted Walter Lippmann as follows:

The Secretary of State has conditioned our withdrawal from Vietnam with the establishment in Saigon of a stable and sure government which has nothing to do with the Vietcong who are now occupying more than half the country. Such a condition practically means that we shall never withdraw from Vietnam.

#### MAJOR FACTOR LEFT UNDONE

In sum, then, the major thing which the United States peace offensive has left undone is recognition of the NLF. So long as we refuse this, we keep not just the Front but Hanoi as well from coming to the conference table. The third point in North Vietnam's four point proposal for peace settlement is settling the affairs of South Vietnam in accord with the program of the NLF. Does this mean acceptance of the full Front program, or would the other side be satisfied if the Front were guaranteed inclusion in any peace talks and any future South Vietnam government? Mr. James Leonard, Deputy Director of Far Eastern Research for the State Department, told me on January 11th that there is "endless debate" in the Department about this question. Is it presumptuous to suggest that if we are confused about the meaning of point three that we try asking those who wrote it? Is it impossible

that if the United States accepted point three in its minimal sense of direct dealing with the Front, other aspects of constructing a government in South Vietnam might suddenly become more negotiable?

#### SOME FLEXIBILITY

We received a strong impression on our trip that such flexibility does exist in the negotiating position of the other side. We were told in Prague that there were many ways and means of creating the national coalition government for which the Front program calls. In Hanoi it was emphasized that once the American intention to withdraw was clear, then -- these are the words of the DRV liaison officer to the International Control Commission -- "some points in a political settlement could be negotiated" and "concrete details can be discussed." Both the Front program and the declaration of the first Front Congress in 1962 explicitly call for South Vietnamese elections by universal suffrage and secret ballot, with all political parties and mass organizations guaranteed the right to present candidates. Premier Pham Van Dong, in his written answers to our questions, explicitly envisioned free general elections to decide the question of reunification. Are our own goals really so far from these that we can in good conscience further escalate the carnage without more effort at clarification than one melodramatic month affords?

#### SECOND INADEQUACY

If the first major failure in the United States peace offensive has been its failure to knock on the NLF door, the second key inadequacy has been the Administration's vagueness about the withdrawal of American troops. Would American troops at once be withdrawn as soon as we were certain that no DRV troops were in the South? Or, as both Secretary Rusk and Mr. Moyers have suggested since the peace offensive began, would American troops remain until we were assured that the government of South Vietnam would not go Communist?

This ambiguity was stressed by Hanoi radio on December 30th. Commenting on the President's fourteen points, the broadcast conceded:

They said they agreed to hold "negotiations without preconditions," to "talk at any time, anywhere and with any government"; that they were ready to implement the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and approved the reunification of North and South Vietnam; they also declared that it is possible to discuss the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam along with the other proposals put forth by the U.S. or its henchmen; that the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation might explain its viewpoint at the conference table; they also proposed a ceasefire from both sides when the talks begin, and so on and so forth.

"But," Hanoi radio continued, "there is one and the

most fundamental thing which they have never mentioned: the withdrawal of US troops from South Vietnam."

### OUTRAGEOUS VIOLATION

By this the Vietnamese do not mean physical withdrawal of all troops before negotiations. What they do mean is that the presence of American troops in their country seems to them an outrageous violation of the principle of self-determination; and in particular, that no election could be free so long as foreign troops remained.

### DEEP ROOTS

I came to understand through my trip that this attitude toward foreign troops is no mere negotiating position, but has deep roots in Vietnamese history. Secretary Rusk is wont to speak of North and South Vietnam as "neighbors." The Vietnamese find this singularly insulting. They say that quite apart from the Geneva Agreements, which stipulates clearly that the 17th parallel is provisional, history and culture make Vietnam "one country, one people!" The rhetoric of North Vietnam is more nationalist than Communist; their slogan, quite literally, is "liberty or death." The war against ourselves is viewed as a continuation, not only of resistance against the Japanese and French, but of a centuries-long struggle for nationhood and independence against China. We were ceaselessly reminded that the Chinese and Vietnamese languages are quite different; that the Vietnamese have their own style of music, architecture, cooking and family life; that -- as they put it -- "we take advice from every one but (here usually came a little laugh) we make our own decisions." When we asked what Ho meant when he said that Vietnam would help the United States withdraw on a red carpet, we were referred to the invasion of Vietnam by the Ming dynasty in the 15th century, when, having captured the Chinese general staff, the victorious Vietnamese built boats so that the Chinese could go home without loss of face.

### COMMUNISTS ALSO NATIONALISTS

Americans must understand that Communists can also be nationalists. They are people who feel as strongly about home and family and the good things of life as we, but to quote Ho again, they will fight for twenty years if need be to expel all foreign troops. I recall the interpreter in Prague who carefully explained the NLF stand on amnesty, and then added: "But if the sky should fall after you withdraw, that would still be a Vietnamese problem."

Perhaps I can convey something of what we felt by taking you through our trip with me, with the help of a diary. . . .

Monday, December 20, the day President Johnson offered to knock on any door and travel anywhere in search of peace. Herbert Aptheker, Thomas Hayden and I flew to Czechoslovakia en route to Hanoi.

### MEET NLF IN PRAGUE

Knocking on Hanoi's door began at the Prague office of the National Liberation Front. After breakfast on the 21st, we climbed several flights of dingy stairs to a suite of rooms near our hotel in the central city. Here we were received by Nguyen Van Hieu, a member of the NLF central committee and the Front's "permanent representative" in Czechoslovakia (the word "ambassador" is avoided since the NLF has not declared itself a government).

The scene would prove characteristic of our three weeks' Christmas journey: a Vietnamese spokesman and his interpreter; a table with teacups, fruit and candy; and the three self-appointed wise men following their inward star.

### CHRISTMAS TRUCE

Hieu told us that the American press misunderstood what the Front said about a Christmas truce. It was not a proposal. The Front, he continued, has for years observed a unilateral ceasefire both at Christmas and during the Buddhist Lunar New Year a month later. At such times persons living in Saigon-controlled areas are permitted to visit their families in what the Front calls "liberated zones."

Hieu added that the Front also provided Christmas celebrations for American prisoners of war. We had no opportunity to check this out, but we did learn from a captured American pilot in Hanoi that his North Vietnamese prison served a much appreciated Christmas turkey dinner.

Since we were guests of the North Vietnamese Peace Committee, the North Vietnamese embassy was where we made arrangements about visas and planes: a complicated process, since the conversation went from Vietnamese to Czech to English and back. In Prague as in Moscow the DRV (Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the term used by the North Vietnamese government to describe itself) embassy is physically at some distance from the office of the Front, as if to emphasize the Front's political independence. Ambassador Phan Van Su, an elderly exprofessor, plied us with more fruit and the delicious Vietnamese sausages rolled in flour. We began to realize that the most serious physical danger to us might prove toasts and banqueting. The ambassador also remarked in passing that mail might seem a small thing, but that because the Saigon government refused to negotiate with Hanoi about exchange of mail, neither he nor the embassy secretary had heard from their families in eleven years.

We were to meet many such persons who had regrouped to the North under the provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, expecting a two-year separation from their families until the nationwide election in 1956 which the Agreements required. The election, of course, never came. For these Southern exiles, reunification is something more than an abstract dogma.

### NLF IN MOSCOW

Wednesday, December 23, we flew from

Prague to Moscow. Having been told by earlier travellers that we would not meet spokesmen for the Front in Hanoi, we used this stopover, too, to contact representatives of both DRV and NLF.

Snow was falling as our taxi approached the North Vietnamese embassy in Moscow at noon on Thursday, but the driver assured me (I speak broken Russian) that it would stop before our scheduled flight to Peking, eleven hours later. DRV Ambassador Nguyen Van Kinh received us just as a three-man Canadian delegation, on their way home after fifteen days in Hanoi, was leaving his office. The Canadians told us they had not been allowed to visit South Vietnam or areas near the 17th parallel, on grounds of safety.

Ambassador Kinh emphasized what we would hear repeatedly from others: that the United States offer of "unconditional negotiations" is felt to contain several implicit conditions. One is that the United States insists on keeping troops in Vietnam so long as it believes them necessary, which the Vietnamese say violates the Geneva Agreements. Another implicit condition, from the standpoint of the other side, is that the United States demands the permanent partition of Vietnam. The Vietnamese say this, too, violates the Geneva Agreement's stipulation for reunification elections in 1956. Finally -- and as I suggested earlier, I believe this is the key to the whole situation -- the Vietnamese stress the refusal of the United States government to deal directly with the NLF. They concede that the Geneva Agreements did not deal explicitly with the creation of a provisional government in the South, but they insist that any solution which purports to express the Geneva Agreements' underlying principle of self-determination must include a group so broadly supported as the NLF.

One thing Kinh said was hopeful, however. Asked whether the DRV would permit international supervision of a future peace settlement, the ambassador replied that his government had always recognized the International Control Commission and reported violations to it. As for the future role and composition of the ICC, that could be determined by an international conference composed of the same parties as at Geneva.

#### IMPRESSIVE MEETING

Perhaps the most impressive interview of our whole trip was with the Front representative in Moscow, Dang Quang Minh. This 56-year old man, another member of the NLF central committee, was first imprisoned in 1930. During the Japanese occupation of Vietnam in World War II, he was again imprisoned for five years. As he spoke harsh thoughts to us in a musical, almost inaudible voice, one had the sense of having penetrated through a fog of bureaucratic arrangements and travel plans to the very mind of the Vietnamese revolution.

Minh said the problem is that the United States still hopes to occupy South Vietnam. America, he continued, knows that counter-insurgency "special war" has failed, knows that 1965's "escalation" has failed, but still does not understand the

strength of "people's war." Therefore, according to Minh, the United States still hopes to improvise a victory.

From Minh's point of view, the NLF has already made significant concessions. The Geneva Agreements provided for reunification in two years; now, said Minh, the Front is willing that much more than two years go by before North and South Vietnam are united. Further, the Front envisions a coalition government for South Vietnam which would include all "patriotic" mass organizations and all individuals who reject American aggression. Such a coalition government would not ally with Moscow or Peking but would, according to this spokesman, pursue a neutralist foreign policy.

Having conceded this much Minh said as we drank tea and peeled oranges, the Front would not concede more.

#### NO REAL PEACE

Finally Minh struck a note which would predominate in our talks when we reached Hanoi. "The South Vietnamese cherish peace more than any other people in the world," declared the grim veteran. "The desire for peace may be seen in the fact that in the intervals of fighting we continue to build. The war cannot prevent the people from building a new life. In the past five years we have helped fourteen minorities to create written alphabets. 2,000,000 hectares of land have been distributed to individual farmers." But he added (as they all add), there can be no real peace until we are independent.

#### ON TO PEKING

The sleek cigar-shaped Aeroflot took off from Moscow just before midnight. Until almost dawn I typed notes on our talks in Prague and Moscow. Looking down in the early light one saw the broad Siberian rivers, then the mountains of Outer Mongolia stretching in icy confusion to the horizon, finally the flat, dun-colored loess plains of North China. We landed in Peking early in the afternoon of December 24th, were met at the airport by members of the DRV embassy, and driven through a human sea of bicyclists, donkey carts, and buses to the Peace Hotel.

There we learned to our dismay that no plane would travel to Hanoi till Monday the 27th. Even then, since the Hanoi airport is not big enough for jets and the bi-weekly plane from Peking has only twenty-four seats, it was uncertain there would be room for us. We lay on our hotel beds, listened to the strange sounds of the frosty Peking night, remembered it was Christmas Even, and wondered if our peace offensive would come to a dead stop in the heartland of Communist belligerency.

#### AN ANSWER

Three seats on Monday's plane materialized, and as we flew southward toward Hanoi I sought to sort out my preliminary thoughts about the other side and peace. By the time the flat fields of North China, so much like our own Middle West, had given way to the gleaming rice pools and terraced hills of the South, I felt I had an answer: What the

6  
"enemy" is waiting for is an American decision to withdraw. We need not physically withdraw all troops before negotiations; once having come to the decision, we could expect much flexibility from our antagonists in making practical arrangements; but, as it seemed to them, sooner or later we would see what the French and Japanese had seen before us: that the cost of staying was excessive and it was time to go.

## TWO RELATED POINTS

Our ten days in Hanoi led to no basic revision of this conclusion. Two other, related points were underlined by conversations in North Vietnam with dozens of persons ranging from Premier Pham Van Dong and five visiting heroes of the NLF army to ordinary workers and peasants and, last but not least, the interpreters who we came to know best of all. First, that whatever the nature of the tie between Hanoi and the Front, the NLF struggle in the South has strong local roots which we will neglect at our peril. Second, that the negotiating position of the United States as clarified by President Johnson's fourteen points and the negotiating position of the DRV as clarified for us by Premier Pham Van Dong, were so close that peace seems tantalizingly near.

Nguyen Minh Vy, who comes from that part of South Vietnam where the American army is building a huge military base at Cam Ranh, spoke of the Diem regime:

For the thousands of years of our history there was never such terror as under Diem. I was arrested by the French. But they imprisoned only persons who had committed concrete crimes. After imprisonment one could live a normal life. Diem arrested people on ideological grounds. If you were a former resistance member that made you automatically a Communist. They said, tear down the picture of Ho, tear down the red flag, and we'll set you free. Otherwise we'll imprison you forever.

Vy went on to speak of the strategic hamlets in which, between 1961 and 1963, the United States sought to enclose ten million of the fourteen million people of South Vietnam:

In South Vietnam people are dispersed, especially in the mountains. The mountaineers lived completely freely. They have their own gardens, their own fields, their own fish ponds.

What will happen when these people are concentrated? They must have permission to go out to till the land. They went out in the morning and came in at the evening like buffaloes and oxen. There was forced labor. Taxes. Their sons were taken for the army. If they protested they were called Communists. They couldn't bear it. This was the reason for the fall of Diem.

Vy described the beginning of resistance:

Houses were burned to drive people into the hamlets. Two things Diem did were most shocking to the people: he dug up the graves of ancestors, and he burned houses.

If you resisted you were killed. Following the imperialists, Diem killed people to make an example of them. If you asked to live in your former house you were considered a Communist and killed. Until 1959 the struggle only meant to urge implementation of Geneva, to demand assurance of freedom rights, to demand land. The main thing was to demand to be alive. The Diem regime did not give you a hope of living otherwise.

"For the people of South Vietnam," Vy asserted, "the struggle means existence itself."

## INTERVIEW WITH PREMIER

Our ninety minute interview with the Premier came on January 5th in the flower-surrounded presidential palace. Again there was tea; again interpreters; again the three unauthorized Americans; but this time the speaker was the second most powerful man in the nation we are fighting.

"The Vietnamese people," stated Premier Pham Van Dong,

feel they are fighting for a just cause against barbarous aggression. That is the central reality. The same thing happened when you fought against the British. It is very simple.

Like so many others, the Premier insisted that the Vietnamese passionately want peace. "This building," he said pointing to the room around us, "might be destroyed and that would be a loss. But our grief is about the children, the women, the old and young people who are killed. We feel pain in our heart because of these sufferings." One wondered why the killing had to continue. The Premier answered: "But peace at what cost? All the problems lie here. We must have independence. We would rather die than be enslaved."

## IS PEACE IMPOSSIBLE

As a succession of planes whirled us back past Nanning, Wuhan and Peking, past Irkutsk, Omsk and Moscow, past Prague, Zurich and Paris, and so to New York City, the question kept recurring: Both sides now take their stand on the Geneva Agreements; both sides favor the eventual withdrawal of all foreign troops; both sides favor free general elections to reunify North and South; is peace really impossible?

## CABLE TO SEN. FULBRIGHT

Since we have been back, nothing has been said or done to us by way of legal reprisal. We regard our trip as intended not for negotiation but for clarification. Like Felix Greene, Lord Fenner



Brockway, William Warby and other fact-finders who have talked directly with the DRV and NLF, we asked questions and brought back a report about the answers. Our hope is that the government will choose to regard our trip as an expression of the President's intent to knock on any door and travel anywhere in search of peace. In this spirit, we cabled from Hanoi to Senator William Fulbright asking an opportunity to present our findings to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

#### FULBRIGHT ANSWERS

A telegram has been received from Senator Fulbright, as follows:

YOUR GROUP'S REQUEST HAS BEEN CONSIDERED BY THE COMMITTEE BUT THERE ARE NO PLANS TO HEAR YOU. IF YOU HAVE NOT ALREADY DONE SO I WOULD SUGGEST THAT YOU PASS ON TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT ANY PERTINENT INFORMATION OBTAINED DURING YOUR TRIP TO NORTH VIETNAM.

We are disappointed that the United States Senate, with its ultimate constitutional responsibility for war and peace, has shown so little interest in direct contact with the only Americans who have been to Hanoi in recent months.

#### IF I COULD SPEAK

What would I say if I could speak to Senator Fulbright's committee? Something like this:

You, gentlemen, have deeply disappointed the American people by your failure to exercise your constitutional responsibility over war and peace. Article I, Section VIII of the Constitution gives to Congress and only to Congress the power to declare war. Yet this Congress has permitted the President to land 200,000 soldiers in Vietnam without even public hearings by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, let alone a responsible Congressional debate.

#### 1964 CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION

I would go on to say that the Congressional resolution of August, 1964, from which the President derives his power to act, explicitly requires the United States to act in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations. Yet, in contrast to the action of President Truman in 1950, one year after escalation of the war in Vietnam the United States has still not formally brought the problem before the only body legally authorized to designate a threat to world peace. I would tell Senator Fulbright that many Americans agree with the opinion expressed by Marriner Eccles, former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, on January 3rd, that the United States is in Vietnam "as an aggressor in violation of our treaty obligations under the United Nations Charter."

#### NUREMBERG TRIBUNAL

Then I would call attention to the Nuremberg Tribunal. On that occasion the United States sent German soldiers and decision-makers to death and

life imprisonment for what we carefully defined as "war crimes" and "crimes against humanity." Among these crimes were indiscriminate destruction of civilian populations, and torture and murder of prisoners of war. It is common knowledge that actions of this kind take place in Vietnam. On August 6, 1965, the twentieth anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima, Time magazine stated: "the marines have begun to kill prisoners." We claim that our chemicals are not toxic and our gases are not lethal, but on January 13th the Brisbane Courier Mail reported that Corporal Robert Boutwell was killed despite the protection of a gas mask when trapped in a tunnel amid the fumes of so-called tear gas grenades. What of the women and children crouching in such tunnels without gas masks? Every one knows that American bombers routinely decimate unprotected villages on the mere suspicion that guerillas may be among the population. Perhaps it will help us understand the NLF rejection of the United States peace offensive if we read again its January 5th statement that the United States has introduced in South Vietnam "a mobile bacterial and chemical warfare institute and thousands of tons of noxious chemicals and gases strictly banned by international law," that in the first seven months of 1965, 700 square kilometers of crops were destroyed by toxic chemicals, that between December 7th and 14th, 46,000 people were affected by chemicals sprayed in Ben Tre province alone.

#### HIGHER LAW

Senator Fulbright, I would continue, many of us who have been freely denounced as law-breakers feel that in refusing to commit such acts we obey the higher law of the Nuremberg Tribunal. Such a one is David Mitchell, who rests his refusal to be drafted on the twin grounds that Congress has not declared war and that the Vietnam war violates the Nuremberg judgments. Others are the twenty-nine young men who go before an appeals court in Ann Arbor tomorrow for sitting-in at a draft board October 15th. Their plea? That this is an unconstitutional and aggressive war, in violation of the Nuremberg Tribunal. Still others are the 7,000 persons, myself included, who have signed the Declaration of Conscience against the War in Vietnam. Among the signers are religious figures like Daniel and Philip Berrigan, scientists such as Linus Pauling, literary personalities such as Harvey Swados and Maxwell Geismar; also included are W. H. Ferry, Eric Fromm, Milton Mayer; not least are Bayard Rustin, organizer of the March on Washington, Robert Parris, organizer of the Freedom Democratic Party, and James Bevel, organizer of the Selma to Montgomery March.

#### DECLARATION OF CONSCIENCE

All these persons have signed the following Declaration of Conscience against the War in Vietnam:

Because the use of the military resources of the United States in Vietnam and elsewhere suppresses the aspirations of the people for political independence and economic freedom;

Because inhuman torture and senseless killing are being carried out by forces armed, uniformed, trained and financed by the United States;

Because we believe that all peoples of the earth, including both Americans and non-Americans, have an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the peaceful pursuit of happiness in their own way; and

Because we think that positive steps must be taken to put an end to the threat of nuclear catastrophe and death by chemical or biological warfare, whether these result from accident or escalation

--  
We hereby declare our conscientious refusal to cooperate with the United States government in the prosecution of the war in Vietnam.

We encourage those who can conscientiously do so to refuse to serve in the

armed forces and to ask for discharge if they are already in.

Those of us who are subject to the draft ourselves declare our own intention to refuse to serve.

We urge others to refuse and refuse ourselves to take part in the manufacture or transportation of military equipment, or to work in the fields of military research and weapons development.

We shall encourage the development of other nonviolent acts, including acts which involve civil disobedience, in order to stop the flow of American soldiers and munitions to Vietnam.

#### ESCALATE WITHOUT US

Senator, I would conclude, we who have committed ourselves to this Declaration honor the brave men on both sides of the war, But we are not at war with the people of Vietnam. If the war escalates, it will escalate without us.



We represent a resolute stand of women in the United States against the unprecedented threat to life from nuclear holocaust.

We are women of all races, creeds and political persuasions who are dedicated to the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

We cherish the right and accept the responsibility of the individual in a democratic society to act to influence the course of government.

We demand of governments that nuclear weapons tests be banned forever, that the arms race end, and that the world abolish all weapons of destruction under United Nations safeguards.

We urge immediate planning at local, state, and national levels for a peace-time economy with freedom and justice for all.

We urge our government to anticipate world tensions and conflicts through constructive non-military actions and through the United Nations.

We join with women throughout the world to challenge the right of any nation or group of nations to hold the power of life or death over the world.


(Policy statement agreed upon by 82 women from 15 states at first national conference, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 1962; later affirmed by local groups.)

- I would like to contribute to the work of Women Strike for Peace and to be kept informed of your activities.
- A minimum contribution of \$5 brings you the national bulletin of WSP, THE MEMO, for one year.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Enclosed please find \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

 Make check or money order payable to



WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE  
2016 P Street, N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20036  
Telephone: Area Code 202—232-0803



F B I

Date: 3/7/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-45394) (P)

SUBJECT: HERBERT APTHEKER;  
STAUGHTON LYND;  
THOMAS HAYDEN;  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM;  
MISUSE OF U.S. PASSPORT;  
LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY.

Enclosed herewith are 10 copies of LHM for the Bureau, with 2 copies each for New Haven and New York.

LHM describes request by ACLU attorney representing LYND for temporary passport facilities for LYND to travel to London and Oslo.

LHM being disseminated locally to Secret Service and military intelligence agencies.

Passport Office files reviewed by SA RICHARD A. NEWBY, 3/4/66.

WFO maintaining contact with U.S. Department of State to ascertain dates of proposed hearings for LYND and HAYDEN.

- 10 - Bureau (Encl. 10)
- 2 - New Haven (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-80532) (Encl. 2) (RM)
- 2 - WFO  
(1-100-44061) (VIDEN)

GTT:sch  
(10)

AIRTEL

5 MAR 14 1966

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

b3  
b7E



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

March 7, 1966

HERBERT APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON LYND  
THOMAS HAYDEN

The files of the Passport Office, United States Department of State (USDS), as reviewed by a representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on March 4, 1966, revealed that a letter had been received from one Edward J. Ennis, [redacted] concerning passport privileges of Staughton Lynd. Ennis, describing himself as a representative of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), advised that organization has agreed to assist Lynd in his passport matters and that he and one David Carliner, Esquire, Washington, D.C., who is associated with the ACLU, have agreed to appear as Lynd's attorneys.

b6  
b7c

Ennis stated that he was requesting that Lynd be extended temporary passport facilities in order to go to London, England and Oslo, Norway, in April, 1966. He stated that Lynd has been invited by the Committee on Nuclear Disarmament to attend a meeting over the Easter weekend in London and has also been invited by the Norweigan Students Association to attend a teach-in on Vietnam in Oslo over the following weekend. He stated that Lynd expects to be away from the United States from about April 7, 1966, to April 18, 1966.

Ennis also requested the USDS to set up hearings on the cases of Lynd and Thomas Hayden as soon as possible. He was particularly anxious in Lynd's case in view of Lynd's desire to travel in early April.

As of March 4, 1966, no date had been set for the hearings of Lynd and Hayden and no action has been taken concerning the granting of temporary passport facilities to Lynd.

This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions of  
the FBI. It is the property of  
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;  
it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

62-111917-33

ENCLOSURE

F B I

Date: 3/8/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON CRAIG, LYND  
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO  
VIET NAM  
MISUSE OF PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT-CONSPIRACY

Re Bureau airtel to New York 2/23/66 and  
New York airtel to Bureau 3/1/66.

Mr. K. GOVINDAN, In Charge of Flight Operations, Air India, JFK International Airport, Queens, NY, furnished to SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL on 3/2/66, the names and whereabouts of two of the crew members of Air India Flight 116, 12/19/65. They were respectively B. GILL, Flight Purser and M. SHANDAS, Assistant Flight Purser. Results of contacts with Mr. GILL and Mr. SHANDAS, are set forth below.

Mr. GOVINDAN stated that the cockpit crew, consisting of the Commander, Flight Officer, Navigator and Engineer, would on a normal flight have no contact with the passengers and it was extremely unlikely they could furnish any pertinent information in this case. The rest of the crew on this flight consisted of four air hostesses who are now based in Bombay, India, and are not expected to return to the United States for at least three months.

4-Bureau (RM) (Encls. 5) ENCLOSURE  
2-New Haven (100-18293) (Encls. 2) (RM)  
2-Newark (100-48095) (Encls. 2) (RM)  
1-New York (100-110521) (STAUGHTON LYND)  
1-New York (100-148904) (THOMAS HAYDEN)  
1-New York

VJA:art  
(12)

REC-29

MAR 9 1966

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

NY 100-80532

In view of the above, no further effort will be made at this time by NYO to contact additional members of the crew.

MIKE SHANDAS, Assistant Flight Purser, Air India, was contacted 3/2/66, at the Belmont Plaza Hotel, NYC. Mr. SHANDAS stated he served as Assistant Flight Purser on Air India Flight 116, 12/19/65, en route from JFK International Airport, London, England. Mr. SHANDAS was shown photographs of above subjects, but stated that he could neither identify them nor recall them by name. Mr. SHANDAS stated he had no recollection of these individuals whatsoever.

Mr. B. GILL, Flight Purser, Air India, was similarly contacted at the Belmont Plaza Hotel, NYC, on 3/2/66. GILL acknowledged that he was part of the crew on Air India Flight 116, 12/19/65, but he could not recall the subjects. GILL stated he could not identify photographs of the subject which were displayed to him.

Enclosed for Bureau and offices listed are copies of FD 302 setting forth information furnished by SAUL ROSENBAUM on 3/3/66. Mr. ROSENBAUM stated that he is willing to be interviewed by a Departmental attorney, but would prefer not to testify in court for business reasons. Mr. ROSENBAUM stated the parents of STAUGHTON LYND reside in one of the company's buildings, namely 75 Central Park West, NYC, an apartment building.

The following American passengers aboard Air India Flight 116 which departed JFK International Airport on 12/19/65, for London were interviewed:

HARRY and LILY GOLDSMITH, [redacted] were contacted on 3/2/66. They advised that they were aboard Air India Flight 116 on 12/19/65, en route from New York to London. They stated that they did not know anyone on the flight and had no conversation with anyone aboard, except the flight personnel.

Mr. DENIS P. BISCHOFF who [redacted] was contacted on 3/2/66. He advised that he is employed by Air India, but that he was not on Air Flight 116 on 12/19/65, en route from New York to London. He did not make the trip.

NY 100-80532

Mrs. JERE T. FARRAH, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] was interviewed 3/2/66. She stated that she travelled with her husband to London on Air India Flight 116, 12/19/65. They travelled First Class and had no contact with Economy class passengers. It should be noted that APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN travelled Economy class on this flight. Mrs. FARRAH stated that neither she nor her husband had any pertinent information to furnish concerning captioned individuals. She could not identify photographs of the subject as anyone she had observed aboard this flight.

b6  
b7c

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

March 17, 1966

Director, FBI

62-111917-35  
1 - Mr. Reddy

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND  
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

Reference is made to my letter dated March 1, 1966, regarding the availability of certain informants and sources of this Bureau for interview by Department attorneys and for possible future testimony in the captioned matter.

The source mentioned in paragraph one, page two, of referenced letter as having attended the meeting at Manhattan Center, New York City, on January 16, 1966, has advised that for purely personal reasons he does not desire to be interviewed by Department attorneys or to be considered as a potential witness in this case.

It has been determined, however, that Miss Rasa Gustaitis, a reporter for the "New York Herald Tribune," covered the January 16, 1966, meeting for her newspaper. A copy of an article prepared by Miss Gustaitis entitled "5,000 Hear Prof. Lynd Defend Trip to Hanoi" is attached. As indicated, this article appeared in the January 17, 1966, edition of the "New York Herald Tribune."

As you will recall, Miss Gustaitis also covered the press conference held by the subjects upon their return to the United States on January 9, 1966, and she has indicated a willingness to testify to the statements made by subjects at this press conference. In this regard, your attention is directed to page 33 of the report of Special Agent Vincent J. Ascherl dated January 25, 1966, at New York, New York, captioned as above.

Enc.

1 - New York

EBR:jas (5)

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FBI

Date: 3/8/66

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)  
SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND  
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO  
VIET NAM  
MISUSE OF PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT-CONSPIRACY

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF 66-123974-156  
DATE 8-12-77/DMJ/

Re NY airtel to Bureau dated 3/27/66

[redacted] was contacted 3/4/66 and it was specifically determined from him that he is unwilling to testify in this matter or to be interviewed by a Departmental attorney. [redacted] stated that he fears an unfavorable reaction on the part of his superiors at his present employment, [redacted]

[redacted] Informant expressed the opinion that his present superiors might be "shocked" at the revelation that informant had attended the Manhattan Center Meeting on 1/16/66; and they might not be impressed with the fact that informant attended this meeting at the behest of the FBI. [redacted] further stated that he lives in [redacted] and some of his neighbors and acquaintances might be sympathetic to the cause of the above subjects. Any testimony that he would give might bring recriminations against himself and members of his family, if not bodily harm.

In view of the above and since [redacted] is a current [redacted] informant in the NYO, it is not recommended that his name be furnished to the Department for consideration as a witness.

4-Bureau (Encls. 2) ENCLOSURE  
1-New York [redacted] (ADM) (42)  
1-New York  
VJA:arf

(7)

Approved: C. C. Wick Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D

b7D

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Deleted Copy Sent  
by letter  
per FOIA Request

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-80532

Enclosed for Bureau are two xerox copies of Herald Tribune article entitled "5,000 Fear From. Agon. Defend Trip To Hanoi". This appeared in Herald Tribune, 1/17/66, Page 5 and was written by reporter RICH. GUSTAITIS of the Herald Tribune staff. In this article Miss GUSTAITIS covers the meeting at Manhattan Center on 1/16/66, at which above subjects spoke. In the report of SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL dated 1/25/66 on Page 33 appears an interview with Miss GUSTAITIS in which she reported on the press conference given by subjects at JFK International Airport, 1/9/66; it will be noted that RAGA GUSTAITIS stated she would be willing to testify.)

The Bureau may wish to furnish this information to the Department with a copy of the attached newspaper article.



3/16/66

Airtel

1 - Mr. Reddy

To: SAC, New York

From: Director, FBI

HERBERT APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON LYND  
THOMAS HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT

✓ Reurairtel 3/3/66.

The Department has requested the identity of the Associated Press reporter in Moscow who conducted the telephonic interview with subject Lynd in Hanoi on 12/31/65. The article regarding this interview appeared in the January 1, 1966, edition of "The New York Times" captioned "U.S. Leftist, in Hanoi, Says Lull in Raids Produces No Reaction."

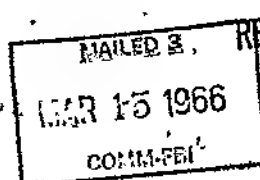
Your attention is directed to an article in the January 9, 1966, issue of "The New York Times" captioned "Lynd Says Hanoi Denies Getting a Direct U. S. Bid." This article is datelined 1/8/66 at Moscow and was written by Peter Grose. It relates to a press conference held by the subjects at the Moscow Airport on January 8, 1966, while they were en route back to the United States. The possibility exists that Peter Grose may be the reporter who conducted the telephonic interview with Lynd on 12/31/66.

✓ Expedite.  
EBR:jas (4)

NOTE: Above information requested by Department Attorney Brandon Alvey on 3/14/66..

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAR 23 1966



19 MAR 16 1966

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

100-452281  
ENREC COPY FILED IN 100-452281

3/16/66

Airtel

1 - Mr. Reddy

To: SAC, Washington Field

From: Director, FBI

HERBERT APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON LYND  
THOMAS HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT

Reurairtel 2/21/66 transmitting tape recordings of the speech made by Staughton Lynd at the Washington Hilton Hotel on the evening of 1/24/66.

After reviewing these recordings, Department Attorney Brandon Alvey requested that inquiry be made to determine whether the management of the hotel has any objections to the utilization of these recordings and to the testimony of Security Officer James McGovern at a possible future trial of this case.

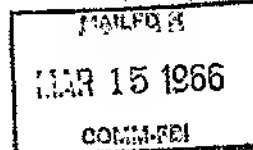
In addition, Department Attorney Alvey made reference to the fact that on approximately 1/4/66 subjects directed a cablegram from Hanoi to Senator William Fulbright in Washington, D. C., requesting an opportunity to appear before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Department Attorney Alvey requested that investigation be conducted to ascertain the identity of the company which handled the cablegram in Washington, D. C., and to determine whether the company's copy of the cablegram will be available for production under a subpoena duces tecum in the event this case should go to trial. It has been determined that either Western Union, International Telephone and Telegraph Company or the Radio Corporation of America would have handled this cablegram in Washington, D. C.

Handle above investigation expeditiously and suairtel.

NOTE: Above information requested by Department Attorney Brandon Alvey on 3/14/66.

EBR:jas (4)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



13 MAR 16 1966

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

3/16/66

Airtel

1 - Mr. Reddy

To: SAC, New York

From: Director, FBI

HERBERT APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON LYND  
THOMAS HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT

Page six of the 1/11/66 issue of "The Worker" contains an article entitled "Aptheker Statement Prior to Trip." This article quotes a statement allegedly issued to the press by Aptheker before leaving for North Vietnam on December 19, 1965.

Since such a statement clearly indicates specific intent by Aptheker to violate the travel restrictions on his United States passport prior to leaving the United States, you should ascertain whether any of the legitimate New York City newspapers received a copy of Aptheker's statement and whether it received press comment prior to Aptheker's departure from New York City for Vietnam on December 19, 1965.

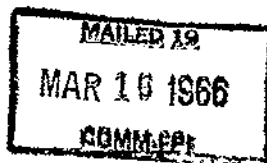
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REC-99

62-111917-39  
100-123714-11

10 MAR 17 1966



Tolson  
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~~100-123174-617~~

ENCLOSURES FOR BUREAU (2)

Bufile 100-123974

WFO file 100-45394

Airtel dated 3/21/66

best available  
copy

ALBION MEMORANDUM

P. O. BOX 111111, NEW YORK, NY 10011 VIA AIR / 1121  
BY SENATOR WILLIAM FULLERICH CHAIRMAN SENATE COMMITTEE ON EST. IN  
CONNECTIONS SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, D.C. USA

WILLIAM FULLERICH CHAIRMAN SENATE COMMITTEE ON EST. IN  
CONNECTIONS SENATE OFFICE BUILDING  
RECEIVED YOUR LETTER OF ANY TIME ANY CONDITIONS STOP PLEASE REE  
LAWY TO SUGGESTION LINDA AL COURT ST NEW HAVEN CONN

SENATOR LINDA HERBERT SPENCER THOMAS MAYOR

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MAR 25 1973  
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F B I

Date: 3/16/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)  
FROM: SAC, NEW HAVEN (100-15601) (P)  
SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER  
IS - C; ISA 1950  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM,  
MISUSE OF U.S. PASSPORT, LOGAN ACT,  
CONSPIRACY

(OO: NY)

[redacted] former PSI of NHO on the evening of 3/14/66, advised that APTHEKER, on the evening of 3/18/66, would speak at 37 Howe Street, New Haven, Connecticut. Specific sponsor and context of APTHEKER's speech unknown to the source.

- 4-Bureau (RM)  
(1 - 100-3-114, CP,USA, Public Appearance of CP leaders)
- 2-New York (100-80532)  
(1 - 100-145839, CP,USA, Public Appearance of CP leaders)
- 3-New Haven  
(1 - 100-18050, CP,USA, Public Appearance of CP leaders)

LSG:mam  
(9)

MAR 17 1966

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

March 22, 1966

REC-82

Mr. William E. Buckley

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. Wick  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Reddy

b6  
b7C

Dear Mr. Buckley:

I received your letter of March 18, 1966, and greatly appreciated your kind comment concerning my book, "Masters of Deceit." It was a pleasure to have had an opportunity to autograph a copy for you.

I can well understand your concern about the status of the matter involving the unauthorized and illegal travel to Hanoi by the individuals you mentioned in your letter. The Federal Bureau of Investigation immediately conducted extensive investigation into the matter and furnished the results of that investigation to the Department of Justice. Recently, the Department of Justice requested this Bureau to conduct additional investigation. This is being done on an expedite basis, and the results are being furnished promptly to the Department as received. The final determination as to when and if prosecutive action will be initiated is, of course, to be made by the Department of Justice. All that this Bureau can do at this point is respond to the requests of the Department in an effort to obtain the evidence which it feels is necessary to make that determination.

I hope the foregoing will be of assistance to you.

100-123974

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

CDB/pcn  
(7)

NOTE: See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan dated 3/21/66 re Herbert Eugene Aptheker, Staughton Craig Lynd, Thomas Hayden, Unauthorized Travel to North Vietnam, EBR/pah.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SENT PER NOTATION  
ON MARCH 22, 1966

MAILED 11  
MAR 22 1966  
COMM-FBI

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WILLIAM E. BUCKLEY



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Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

March 18, 1966

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Pennsylvania Avenue and Ninth Street  
Washington, D. C. 20535

Dear Mr. Hoover:

My last association with you was when I was a Vice President and Director of Henry Holt and Company and we published your fine book, MASTERS OF DECEIT. I have an autographed copy of which I am very proud.

The purpose of this letter is to pursue some written information I have from the Department of Justice. Some time ago I wrote to Attorney General Katzenbach asking to know what the Department of Justice intended to do about Messrs. Lynd, Aptheker and Hayden and their unauthorized and illegal visit to Hanoi. Mr. Katzenbach referred the letter to one Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley who has been giving me a pleasant but uninformed series of responses, and to quote from his last letter dated March 15, he says, "About all that we can say at this time is that the FBI is still investigating these matters." He told me the same thing some weeks ago, and I am certain the FBI has long since finished their investigation of these three men.

My only interest is in seeing justice done, and I think it is outrageous that Staughton Lynd and Company continue to pursue their usual procedures without our Government taking any action.

Any information you can give me will be appreciated.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

*William E. Buckley*  
William E. Buckley

P. S. I am presently a Vice President of The Curtis Publishing Company but my interest in this matter is purely personal.

MAR 21 1966

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Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

March 23, 1966

Director, FBI

1 - Reddy

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND  
THOMAS ENNETT HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT

The following information is being furnished pursuant to the request of Department Attorney Brandon Alvey on March 14, 1966.

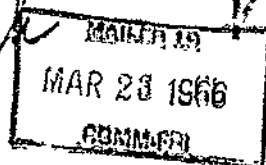
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With reference to the utilization of the tape recording of Staughton Craig Lynd's speech at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D. C., on January 24, 1966, the hotel's Security Officer, James McGovern, has advised that hotel officials object both to the use of the tape recording and the testimony of McGovern at a possible future trial "due to possible adverse publicity." McGovern added, however, that, if the recording and his testimony become "absolutely vital to the Government's case," the hotel management will reconsider the problem.

With reference to the cablegram sent by subjects from Hanoi to Senator William C. Fulbright, requesting an opportunity to appear before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, it has been determined that this cablegram was handled by Western Union. A subpoena duces tecum

REC-111  
62-111917-144  
100-123974

EBR:pah  
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(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

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Gandy

MAR 30 1966

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

should be directed to Mr. Roscoe W. Griggs. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
in the event the file copy of this cablegram is needed for trial purposes. Attached for your information is a typed facsimile of the cablegram in question.

The additional investigation requested by Mr. Alvey is being handled expeditiously and the results will be transmitted in the immediate future.

Enclosure

NOTE:

Memorandum 3/15/66 from Baumgardner to Sullivan reported the discussion with Department Attorney Alvey regarding the status of this case and set out the additional investigation requested by Alvey. The only remaining item consists of the identification by the New York Office of the Associated Press reporter in Moscow who interviewed the subjects telephonically from Moscow while they were in Hanoi. When the identity of this reporter is ascertained, the Department of State will be requested to expeditiously interview him with reference to this telephone call.

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

March 31, 1966

Director, FBI

REC-24

1 - Mr. Reddy

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND  
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

Pursuant to the request of Mr. Brandon Alvey on March 14, 1966, it has been determined that Henry Bradsher is the Associated Press reporter who conducted a telephonic interview with Staughton Craig Lynd from Moscow, Russia, to Hanoi, North Vietnam, on December 31, 1965. The substance of Bradsher's interview was reported in "The New York Times" of January 1, 1966, in an article entitled "U.S. Leftist, in Hanoi, Says Lull in Raids Produces No Reaction."

In view of the recent action of the Department of State in the passport matter involving Professor Henry Stuart Hughes, this Bureau does not deem it advisable to request the Department of State to obtain from Bradsher the complete details regarding his telephonic interview with Lynd. The Department of Justice, however, may desire to initiate such a request.

Mr. Alvey's attention was called, on March 14, 1966, to an article in "The Worker," east coast communist newspaper, on January 11, 1966, entitled "Aptheker Statement Prior to Trip," which purported to be a statement prepared by Aptheker for the press prior to his departure from the United States on December 19, 1965. A review has been made of the clipping file of "The New York Times" for the period December 17 through December 22, 1965, and it was determined that these issues contained no statement issued to the press by Aptheker prior to his departure from the United States. Arrangements have been made to review the microfilm copies of other New York City daily newspapers for the same period and, if it is determined that any of these newspapers received a copy of Aptheker's statement to the press, inquiry will be instituted to determine complete details.

100-396916

EBR/pah:pcn  
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Sullivan  
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Trotter  
Tele Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

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Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

March 22, 1966

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Reddy

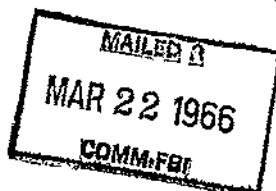
HERBERT APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON LYND  
THOMAS HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT

Attached for your information is a copy of the  
January, 1966, issue of the magazine "Viet Report."

It will be noted that Staughton Lynd is listed as  
a member of the Advisory Board of "Viet Report" and that  
practically the entire issue is devoted to the material  
gathered by Lynd and Thomas Hayden during their recent trip  
to North Vietnam. A report submitted by Herbert Eugene  
Aptheker is to be carried in a future issue of this magazine.

Enc.

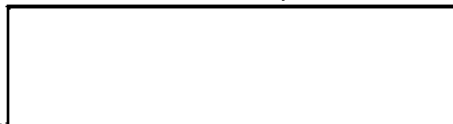
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10 MAR 23 1966

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

WILLIAM E. BUCKLEY



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b7c

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Wick	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

March 25, 1966

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

My thanks for your letter of March 22 and it is  
hoped that the Department of Justice will soon make its  
position known concerning the Americans who made the  
unauthorized and illegal trip to Hanoi.

Best regards.

Cordially,

*William E. Buckley*

William E. Buckley

P. S. May I also add that it will be a sad day for our  
country when you find it necessary to retire as  
Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

EXP. PROC.

MAR 28 1966

*no ack - 4/1/66*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI, PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI, PA# 1360161 000

Total Deleted Page(s) 9  
Page 47 ~ Duplicate,  
Page 51 ~ Referral/Consult,  
Page 52 ~ Referral/Consult,  
Page 54 ~ Referral/Consult,  
Page 55 ~ Referral/Consult,  
Page 56 ~ Referral/Consult,  
Page 57 ~ Referral/Consult,  
Page 58 ~ Referral/Consult,  
Page 59 ~ Referral/Consult,

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 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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# MISSION TO HANOI

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With Prefaces by

Staughton Lynd and Tom Hayden

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HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND  
THOMAS HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT

The March 27, 1966, issue of "The Worker" contains an advertisement on page 11 regarding a book written by Aptheker entitled "~~Mission~~ Mission to Hanoi." The article further indicates that prefaces by Staughton Lynd and Thomas Hayden are included and that the book is "a report on the historic fact-finding mission" recently undertaken by Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden to North Vietnam.

You should obtain and transmit to the Bureau two copies of the paperback edition of this book which will sell for \$1.25 and is available through the International Publishers, 381 Park Avenue South, New York City.

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UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

Re Detroit airtel to Bureau, 3/3/66, captioned as above, and Detroit letter to Bureau, 3/10/66, captioned, "HERBERT APTHEKER, IS-C; CP, USA, PUBLIC APPEARANCES OF PARTY LEADERS, IS-C", dated 3/10/66.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies and for New York two copies of a verbatim transcript of a speech given by HERBERT APTHEKER on 2/10/66, at Rackham Auditorium, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The original tape for this speech was made available by \_\_\_\_\_ (protect identity by request), who attended the APTHEKER meeting on 2/10/66, and made the tape recording which is attached.

The delay in transcription of this tape recording was occasioned by technical problems at Detroit.

The Detroit Office is maintaining a duplicate of this tape for possible future use as evidence.

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SPEECH OF HERBERT APTHEKER AT ANN ARBOR MICHIGAN

HERBERT APTHEKER was introduced by a Moderator. This introduction was indistinct due to background noises.

HERBERT APTHEKER - Thank you very much. I appreciate the courtesy of this invitation. The Secretary of State, Mr. RUSK, in speaking before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, on the sixth of January of this year, said, quote, nearly one third of the world are asleep at any given moment. The other two thirds are awake and are probably stirring up mischief somewhere. Sort of an unusual way of putting the world's problems (laughter). Professor LYND, Mr HAYDEN and myself have just returned from that part of the world where concerns (?) are stirring up mischief, day and night. I've noticed, since my return particularly, although this is not too new, in Asia, that ... Some gentlemen (?) editorials were quite upsetting, as to whether or not I am a patriot ..... they said so several times in print inquiring as to whether a Communist has any liberal rights left in this country, and attorneys will let me know tomorrow. But, in terms of pointed opposition with war, this government conducts, to the expression of such pointed opposition, why war is going on, presumably is the essence of my offense. If this is treasonous it has been indulged in by some strange traitors. ABE LINCOLN, for example. He permitted himself to say to the President of the United States, during a war, that I with my obviously lesser courage, have not yet permitted myself to say. Thus, Mr. Lincoln's speech of January, 1848, while this country was engaging in a war, of course, it was an old fashioned war, it was declared, a declared war, Mr. Lincoln characterized President POLK's message as, quote, the sheerest deception. Mr. Lincoln said that he was certain, that President Polk, I am quoting, is deeply conscious of being involved, that the President feels the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying to heaven against him. The President, said Mr. Lincoln, trusting to escape scrutiny by fixing the public gaze on the exceeding brightness of military glory, that attractive rainbow that rises in showers of blood, that serpent's eye that charms to destroy. He denounced the President. Polk is urging the national honor, the security of the future, the prevention of foreign interference and even the good of, not Vietnam, the good of Mexico as a moment of so called ... and war. As to the more terminating ... of securing peace, the President is equally blundering, untruthful and indefinite. First, he says, it is to be brought (?) by the more vigorous prosecution of the war on the vital parts of the enemies country. That, apparently talking himself tired of that point, the President drops down to a half despairing tone and tells us that the ... people distract, distracted and divided by contending factions and the government is subject to constant changes by successive revolutions and coups, continued success of our arms may fail to secure a satisfactory peace. The President is a bewildered, confounded and miserably perplexed man, God grant he may be able to show there is not something about his conscience more painful than all his mental perplexity, said Mr. Lincoln, one of the well known

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traitors of the 19th century. Another clearly un-American poet, WALT WHITMAN, the same period, damned, quote, the old political parties are defunct. There remains of them nothing but empty flesh, putrid mouths, lovely speaking politicians stand back in the shadows. They tell lies trying to delude and frighten people, said Walt Whitman. I do not know how many people know our whole national anthem, including the third stanza, in which, singing the whole thing through, is almost impossible. One sings our country, triumph it must, if it's cause be just. So much for the proprieties. I will now proceed in an attempt .... of what I saw and felt and then on the basis of this, and what study I have been able to put into the subject, some opinions on the war in Vietnam. Everywhere are air raid shelters. On top of them the children play. Watching the children are grandmothers. They are the target. Hanoi and it's one million people is calm, determined, but calm. Lights in shops and stores, the opera, the cinema, 10,000 bicyclists. Here is the target. A large and lovely lake is in the city's center. Fronting it, I am told, were flowers. Now, these have given way to air raid shelters. Still, there are stalls where flowers are sold and as I stroll by late in the evening many women are preparing displays, binding bouquets in ... leaves. Again, the target. This lady is on a peace committee, she is pleased to meet three Americans who are friends. She has met others at international gatherings, some American women among them. They are just like women here, she thinks, is it not so. I mean, it seems to me to be as sentimental as we are, loving their husbands and wanting their children to grow up, so do we. Why can't this not be. There is nothing like loving children, I think, except it is loving independence. Independence, freedom, loving children. These are things women must have, is it not so? She is the target. A village some twenty miles south of Hanoi, here live 850 families, about 4500 souls. Now, there are many less with the men in the army, all the young men. An elderly peasant with a characteristic wisp of a beard, like uncle HO, sits in a cart and allows himself to be pulled by the faithful buffalo to his work. He is reading as the animal plows his familiar path. I say, good morning. He is happy to welcome me to his village, he says, an American. I have come a long way. Others have come from my country, too, but you have come with open hands and are a friend, therefore, good morning. May I know, please, what are you reading? This? Well, this is SHALLIKOFF (phn). Of course, you know SHALLIKOFF? Yes. What do you think of SHALLIKOFF? There's no doubt that he writes well, he is an interesting writer and he knows people. But, do you know something? I must say that his stories are a little pat sometimes, do you know what I mean? I mean things come out too well, too soon. It does not happen that way all the time. He is a fine writer. He goes off, and next to him is his rifle for while the young men are away everyone else, the aged, the women, they are all armed. Indeed the village people tell me they have a special name for the old man's brigade. It is the gray haired force. I watched him go off into the Asian landscape engrossed

in SHALLIKOFF, his gun by his side. He most certainly is the target. What labor is here. With pride I am told of what they have built in the village that now they think is theirs. The drainage ditches, the brick homes, the bicycles, the newly planted trees, cabbage, rice, grapefruit, tangerines, the pigs they have bred, the ducks they have raised, the harvest that was good this year. What labor is here. What sweetness that now the village is theirs. The young woman in charge of the local guerilla forces says if President JOHNSON comes to take this village we will fight for it. Nobody will take it. At last this is ours, everything now we share and now that we share we no longer quarrel so much. Everything is a target. The harvest, the brick house, the pigs and ducks, this young woman with a rifle, targets of the Pentagon. In Nam Ding (phn) a city of 90,000, this is the battle zone. Eleven times in the past American planes have roared across the city dropping bombs and strafing with rockets and machine guns. The province in which Nam Ding is the capitol lives Many Catholics, 250,000 I am told. This evening when we come, one travels only at night, I asked if I might see the oldest Priest and I was introduced to a man about 75 years of age. Sixty years I have been in the Church, he says. In the old days of the French the Church was not free and not it is. What do you mean, Father? The old days early Mass was for the French and not for us. We had to go to late Mass. In the morning soldiers guarded the Church doors with guns and would not let us enter, only the French could enter. Why was that? Why? To keep us apart, to make us feel like intruders in our own home. In those days they had two Christs, one for the Vietnamese and one for the French. It is like in my country, Father, I say. At home we have a black Christ and a white Christ. Really, he says, I see. Then, abruptly, why is it the Americans are bombing my city? What have we done to the Americans, would you explain it to me? I do not understand. Why do they come here time after time and bomb this city? It is cruel, it is inhuman. Can you tell me why it is? My host comes and tells me we must leave. There is an alert, the U. S. planes are 40 miles away and we are not sure that it is safe for you. I begged to be allowed to remain but they will have none of it and I must leave. I asked the Father's pardon for leaving so quickly, of course, to myself I asked the Father's pardon for a million other things too. The police directing traffic are women. Everywhere they are women, they carry no guns and no clubs, nothing but their hands. In this terrible land of tyranny and Communist slavery everyone is armed except the police. Why do your police carry nothing at all I asked. Because, I am told, under the French and under the Japanese we had enough of the armed police and their clubs. They shot us and they clubbed us and now that the police are ours they carry nothing at all. The fact is that we cannot stand to look upon the police with a club. It strikes me, then, that in Hanoi, unlike the pictures I have seen of Saigon, there are no barricades before the hotels or cafes, there is no danger from within, the danger is only from without, from the heavens. On the way home I get the free world press again, and the insanity. In the HERALD TRIBUNE of December

29 TED SALES (phn) writes from Washington that the bombing to the North Vietnam have not succeeded in dislocating its society. He reports that in the Pentagon many are saying that, "quote, now, only massive attacks, perhaps even with nuclear weapons, could cause such immediate dislocation, end of quotation. Before I came to the target area I read these things, shuddered, but now that I have been in the target area, with the children on the air raid shelters, with a 75 year old priest, with the SHALLIKOFF (phn) reading peasant of the gray haired force, now it is I do not know how to say it. It is like a nightmare. I looked upon the concentration camps 21 years ago. I saw the ovens and when my outfit arrived the places still stank. I saw it but I could not believe it. It was like a nightmare. But, then we had fought against this, we had been on the side of the inmates. If that was a nightmare, what was this? Now, the crematory were made in the United States and were portable and were called napalm and phosphorous, and journalists were coolly writing of dislocation with massive attacks and nuclear weapons. On the way home I read NEWSWEEK of January 10, 1966, and it tells me that BOB HOPE is in Saigon entertaining 10,000 troops with his inimical wit. The magazine says, quote, the soldiers roared and laughed when HOPE called the U.S. bombing raids on North Vietnam the best slum clearance project they ever had, end of quote. I remember that we forced some of the German officers to go through the concentration camp and we all filed through with handkerchiefs at our noses, and I remember that when we emerged into the air the Nazis dropped their handkerchiefs, I remember that some were laughing. The crematory constituted one huge sewage project to them, in which vermin, Jews, Communists, Poles, Russians, were wiped out. Professor Morgenthau writes truly when he indicts this, quote, senseless, homeless and brutalizing war. Dr. BENJAMIN SPOCK writes truly when he declares of what U.S. armed might is doing in Vietnam, quoting Dr. SPOCK, when Hitler's armies used such tactics we called them atrocities, end of quote. And, when Hitler's armies marched he did not say what the world knew, that he wanted the oil and coal, the wheat and iron of the Ukraine, that he wanted to annihilate the idea of popular sovereignty, that he sought to extirpate Socialism. Such realistic considerations are scarce today in the noble rhetoric with which U.S. made atrocities are bedecked, but it was not always so. Thus, when the French were doing most of the fighting against the Vietnamese the NEW YORK TIMES editorialized February 12, 1950, quote, Indo-China is a prize worth a large gamble. In the north are exportable tins, tungsten, zinc, manganese, coal, lumber and rice and in the south are rice, rubber, tea and pepper, end of quotation. And, a little later, while the French still held the line, President Eisenhower permitted himself to express these thoughts in his characteristic syntax, "at the United States Governors Conference August 4, 1953 and I quote President Eisenhower. Now, let us assume that we lost Indo-China. If Indo-China goes, several things happen right away. Then peninsula, the last spit of land hanging on down there would be

scarcely defensible. The tin and tungsten that we so greatly value from that area would cease coming. So, when the United States votes \$400 million to help the French in that war we are not voting a giveaway program, we are voting for the cheapest way we can to prevent the occurrence of something that would be of a most terrible significance to the United States, our security, our power, our ability to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indo-Chinese territory and from southeast Asia, end of quotation. LYNDON B. JOHNSON, as President of the United States, tends to deliver himself when speaking formally of elevated prose. Still, one wonders whether the truer LYNDON B. JOHNSON was speaking, when as a Congressman he said on the floor of the House of the Representatives, March 15, 1948, quote, no matter what else we have of offensive or defensive weapons, without superior air power America is a bound and throttled giant. The NEW YORK TIMES of January 29th, 1966, has what I take to be a society note. It tells us that one of the two dogs the President has, the one that is male, he has recently rechristened the male dog of the President of the United States, Mr. JOHNSON, calls HO CHI HIM. Now, HO, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, from time to time rides a donkey. It is this chauvinism, this racism, this colonialism and that parasitic appetite as well as considerations of strategic position and future activities against other Socialist lands that, in my opinion, lie at the base of the aggressive foreign policy now dominating Washington. Whatever demagogic purposes may have prompted the issuance of President JOHNSON's 14 points, and whatever devious intentions may lie behind the much trumpeted peace offensive, and Mr. HARPIMAN's recent remark concerning the National Liberation Front, and the possibility of its recognition, that the language is closer to the necessities of peace is to be welcomed, that world public opinion of the Vietnamese resistance and growing American public opinion play a part in inducing the peace offensive and extracting this off hand remark from the distinguished Ambassador is all to the good. The first point of the 14 point statement, issued by President JOHNSON on December 27, namely the acceptance of the Geneva agreement, represents the essential point of both the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. If adhered to and implemented it means an end to the war in Vietnam and the basis for a lasting peace in Southeast Asia. The Geneva agreement of 1954 was for the people of Vietnam what the treaty of Paris of 1783 was for the people of the United States. Both represented treaties entered into after prolonged negotiation, by defeated colonial powers, in the earlier case Great Britain and the latter case France, with a formerly colonial people, American and Vietnamese respectively, who had won their independence through struggle. The Geneva agreement was a generous one, offered by the victorious Vietnamese to the defeated French. Thus, though the Vietnamese had proposed that the temporary military line of demarcation be at the 15th parallel, and the French the 18th, the final Geneva agreement set that at the 17th, representing a concession to the French, not only of considerable

territory, but also of some two million people. But this was agreed to in Geneva as a whole and was signed by the Vietnamese because it contains the main things, to wit, the acceptance of the independence and integrity of the Vietnam nation, affirmed the temporary non-political character of the split in the 17th parallel, required the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam, prohibiting the future introduction of such troops and set down procedures for the re-unification of Vietnam by 1956. For these reasons it was signed by the Vietnamese and because they sat by as the terms were carried out by the Vietnamese people because Uncle HO asked them to do so, and HO CHI MINH is to the Vietnamese what WASHINGTON, LINCOLN and LENIN taken together represented. The Geneva agreement terminated a dirty war waged for over eight years, 1946 through '54, by the French with the massive assistance of the United States. It is universally acknowledged, as by former President Eisenhower for example, that the 1956 elections were not held because at the insistence of Saigon and Washington authorities, it was stated at that time in 1956, as affirmed by President Eisenhower, that Saigon and Washington refused to permit the election because it was certain that HO CHI MINH would have emerged in such election as the choice of the overwhelming majority of the Vietnamese people, in both the north and the south. Nevertheless, since Geneva and since 1956 the DRV has tried repeatedly, though without success, to normalize relations between South and North Vietnam. Furthermore, in three important respects as was emphasized during our journeys, agreements already have been offered going further than the Geneva accord. These are viewed upon by the NLF and the DRV as very significant concessions though I think it is fair to say that not one of a thousand Americans knows of their existence. Thus, the DRV, and since its formation in 1960, the NLF, have agreed to,

- a. the neutrality and foreign policy of the South Vietnam interim government.
- b. The broad coalition character of such government.
- c. A prolonged process for the reunification of North and South Vietnam, determined without outside interference by the people involved and confirmed by a general free election, supervised by an international controlled commission established by Geneva.

None of these three points is in the Geneva agreement. All, and I repeat this was emphasized to us during our journey, all illustrated moderations by the DRV approach. Certainly their existence, undoubtedly unknown to the vast majority of Americans, refutes the Washington stereotype of the DRV and the NLF as intransigent and stubborn, not to say more seeking. The fact is that after 25 years of war no people on earth craves peace more than those in Vietnam. But those 25 years of war were inspired by the goal of the independence and integrity of the Vietnamese nation. This is an indispensable prerequisite which runs like a red thread through a thousand years of unbroken Vietnamese history. It is an indispensable prerequisite. Not only could no government of the DRV agree to anything less but if a government did agree to anything less, the Vietnamese people would not abide by such a government. Let it be added that the very long experience of the



Vietnamese people covering thousands of years have shown them that without independence, quite literally, existence becomes either impossible or intolerable. As a single example of what is meant, in the one year 1944-45, under the combined occupation of the Japanese and the French, two million Vietnamese starved to death. Hence, without independence, it is passionately felt in Vietnam, this my journey persuaded me beyond any doubt, that any peace can only represent surrender if peace is won without independence. Such a settlement should not be expected by anyone, least of all Americans who live in a country created in a war for independence. It was independence, unity and national integrity which were the heart of Geneva and many Vietnamese wonder if it is not because of this that the highest officials in the U.S. Government, such as Secretary of State DULLES and President EISENHOWER express so low an opinion of the Geneva agreement at the time of it's signing. If the first of the 14 points of December 27 is meant in full seriousness nothing else is necessary. That point means the recognition of Vietnamese independence, unity and national integrity, forbids the presence of foreign troops in Vietnam. Let the first be solemnly affirmed and let the second process be begun, and my journey absolutely convinces me peace is well on it's way in Vietnam. In this connection, however, it is necessary to observe that so universally respected a commentator as WALTER LIPMAN in his column dated December 29, after the issuance of the 14 points, concludes, quote, I believe it a grave mistake to attempt to make permanent our military presence on the Asian mainland, making this artificial and ramshackled debris of old empires permanent and committing our lives and fortunes to it's maintenance means, I believe, unending war in Asia, end of quotation. It is necessary, also, to observe that Mr. TOM LAMBERT, writing from Washington in the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE of December 31, several days after the announcement of the 14 points, notes that while the United States will accept, quote, a non-aligned South Vietnam, nevertheless, the United States will not let South Vietnam go to the Communists and will remain there militarily if necessary to preclude any such Communist takeover, end of quote. This ruled out the unfettered choice by the people involved, furthermore, since it depends on what Washington considers Communist it may rule out anything to the left of the present, excuse the expression, Prime Minister of the Saigon regime, who has stated that his favorite hero is Adolph Hitler. And Mr. LAMBERT went on to say in the same dispatch to quote the President's assistant, Mr. MOYERS, as repeating that the basis, the President's words, that the basic aim of the United States in Vietnam, as stated by President JOHNSON in Baltimore, April, 1965, remains namely, quote, United States demands that an independent South Vietnam securely guarantees, but the whole point of Geneva was the temporary character of the two zone separation of Vietnam and the agreement as to the unity and sovereignty of Vietnam, not north and not south, but Vietnam. One cannot affirm adherence to Geneva and simultaneously with reason insist that a basic demand is for a separate and independent and non-Communist South Vietnam. Clearly, and correctly

I believe, the Vietnamese feel that their struggle is a just war for national independence. It is a continuation of an anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist effort waged against the Japanese, the French-American and now the American Government. I think that it is indubitable that the NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT is a genuine broad national coalition representing the overwhelming percent of the people of South Vietnam. Further, the struggle seeks not only the cause of the triumph of the national liberation of the Vietnamese people, in addition such a victory would thwart the effort of the United States government to establish a military stronghold in Southeast Asia for purposes, I think, of exploitation and conquest of that area and as a base for further assault throughout Asia, thus clearly opening up the prospects of a general and, perhaps, even a third world war. The Vietnamese, I assure you, take very seriously the unanimous agreements reached in the 1957 and 1960 conferences of the workers and Communist Parties. There, it was agreed, that a prime task was to exert every effort to further the cause of national liberation and simultaneously to prevent world war. Both tasks were viewed as two sides of the same anti-imperialist effort. The present struggle against the United States Government policy of aggression in Vietnam is held to be exactly that kind of struggle. It is then a fundamental issue in the central task of our era. The achievement of national liberation and the prevention of world war by implementation of the policy of peaceful co-existence. Notice to be taken that the Vietnamese emphasize the distinction between the people of the United States and the U. S. Government. They value most highly the impressive efforts for peace being waged by large, increasing segments of the American people. It is a historical fact, in my professional opinion, it is a historical fact that the present degree of opposition to an actual war being conducted is without precedent and the relative absence of any passionate support for such an actual war also is without precedent in the history of the United States. Let it also be observed that the Vietnamese do not seek the defeat of the United States and do not conceive of themselves as capable of defeating the United States. That is, they are not waging war upon the United States and do not seek the destruction of our cities, let alone the capture of Washington. They do not seek, like Admiral Tojo, to sign a peace treaty in Washington. They are seeking to defeat the American aggression upon their soil. They seek to defeat the American Government's aggressive foreign policy. They want American troops not to be in their country. This is what they mean by winning, nothing else. The aggressive war policy of the JOHNSON administration brings death and maiming to thousands of Americans and ruin and devastation to Vietnam. The aggressive policy of the JOHNSON administration threatens all social progress and democratic achievements in our country. There is a 3.2 percent ceiling for wage increases but there is no ceiling at all for rates of profit by corporations. There is impotence in the face of murder of civil rights workers in the United States and at the same time the capacity to send 200,000 American soldiers 10,000 miles

from home to kill peasants and burn villages. The JOHNSON policy of aggression threatens the American people with the kind of catastrophe that Hitler's policy of aggression did bring the German people. The President of the United States speaks of our honor as a nation. Does it honor our nation to ravage a people who have done us no harm? Does it honor our nation to spread chemical poisons upon the labor of farmers in Asia? Does it honor our nation to turn children into beggars and women into prostitutes? Does it honor our nation to hurl phosphorous shells and napalm bombs and beneficent gasses upon the homes and bodies of millions of men, women and children? If to shout to the heavens in denunciation of such honor be treason, please then let my name forever be enrolled among the traitors. The truth is that a reversal of the present aggressive foreign policy in the United States is in the best interests of the people of Vietnam and of the United States and the entire world. Pressures for such a reversal are mounting throughout the world and they are mounting here. And, of course, here is the main responsibility. Permit me very briefly to simply allude to three particular arguments. One is the so-called domino theory. As to this I would simply assert that, particularly since February, '65, last year, when we commenced bombing of the DPV, the domino theory has been, in effect, in reverse. Every bomb thrown has reduced the influence and prestige of the United States nation. Until now, in Cambodia, in India, in the Phillipines and in Japan, the influence tolerant (phn) of the United States are at an all time low. And, while this is especially true of Asia, here is the report from Paris of Mr. JOSEPH BARRY in the current issue of the PROGRESSIVE MAGAZINE as to Europe, quote, everywhere in Europe the Vietnam war has poisoned whatever else has been positive in American policy. It has reduced to nil everything but our military leadership and made nonsense in all Europe of our claims to moral law and international order, end of quote. So much for the domino theory. Two. The affirmation that it is Chinese aggression that is the secret source of our generosity in Vietnam. Of this, there are no Chinese soldiers in Vietnam, no Chinese borders (phn) in the Chinese People's Republic. There are 200,000 American troops. The Chinese do not blockade our coasts, our navy blockades their coast, and two of their ports are not usable, Hanoi (phn) and Phu Chow (phn), are stopped to all traffic by our navy. It is as though Norfolk and Philadelphia were stopped by some foreign navy. Quemoy and Matsu is held by us and our creature. Quemoy and Matsu are to China what Naragansut (phn) and Staten Island are to the United States. It is our government which, for the first time in history, has affirmed, not only that it will not recognize another government, the Chinese People's Republic, but it has explicitly affirmed, diplomatically, openly, several times, that it seeks, as official policy, the overthrow, the destruction of the government of the Chinese People's Republic. It never did that even with the Soviet Union. Furthermore, we have now over 200,000 troops in Vietnam and approximately 65,000 in Korea. That many troops together

amounts to almost 300,000 combat troops in areas, both of which border China. If I ask just a moments consideration of what it would mean if Chinese had a quarter of a million troops, one fourth in Canada and three fourths in Mexico. I therefore affirm that, really, what ever one may say about Chinese policy, and particularly, language, the fact is that, in acts, ..... China and the United States, the United States to speak of Chinese aggression is a classical example of thief crying thief. The third point, also for a minute, the charge of appeasement, of Munich, of allegedly learning the lesson of Munich, the President of the United States reiterates a thousand times, just recently again. I think here, of course, the basic approach is to the whole history of aggression, etcetera, which I do not wish to enter into. But, I do want to say this. Hitler was not appeased. Hitler was created, first by German financed capital and then by Western, including U.S. financed capital. Appeasement means grudgingly giving up. This was not done with Hitler. He was made, created, financed, urged, blown up, encouraged, he was not appeased. He was, in fact, given so much that we now know from his private conversations since published, that he was surprised at how much was given him and how quickly. He was given parity in naval strength with England. He was given the Saar, he was given Mimmell (phn), he was given Danzig. We now know that the British were planning on giving him half of Africa, he was given Austria, he was given Czechoslovakia, an enormous technical capacity of the great Skoda munitions works and it's border touching the Soviet Union. Hitler was not appeased, the whole concept of appeasement is faulty. Hitler was built up as the advance guard against Socialism in Europe and for the destruction of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, who supported this policy? The support of ... came from the Right, the denunciation of it came from the Left. Was anyone more pro Munich, for instance, than the NEW YORK DAILY NEWS? No. That's why President Roosevelt bestowed Hitler's Iron Cross upon the owner of the NEW YORK DAILY NEWS. Is there anyone more avid on the bombing of Hanoi, Hai Phong and China than the NEW YORK DAILY NEWS and it's ilk? No. Why? Because the DAILY NEWS was the organ of pro-Fascism in the thirties and it is the organ of pro-Fascism in the sixties. Never, since the days of chattel slavery has a question of right or wrong been clearer in our country than it is today with the war in Vietnam. Among those who opposed slavery there were many differences but finally one thing united them all, a sense of humanity and out of the sense of decency and a concern for fundamental humanity. The differences that seemed so important to the various camps in the anti-slavery effort now have interest only to historians. And, the greatest lesson they teach all of us now is this, whatever prevented unity in the struggle against slavery was helpful to the slave owners. Whatever prevents unity now in the struggle to stop the killing in Vietnam is helpful to the crackpot realists and the stone age generals. We must go to the American people in their multi-millions and say to them plainly and convincingly in terms that they will understand and act upon that this war is atrocious, immoral and intensely harmful to our country and to our own

every day interest. The President of the United States has recently said that those who opposed the war were simply worriers, they present no alternative. The Geneva agreement is the alternative to aggressive war in Southeast Asia. We must do what Britain did in Ghana. We must do what France did in Algeria and in Vietnam. We must, in the first place, stop the killing, we must, in the second place, get out. (Applause) This is what Geneva says. The cessation of the bombing, agree to the re-convening of Geneva under the auspices of, not of the UN, in which neither Hanoi, nor Saigon nor the NLF, nor China is represented. Implement Geneva with a broad coalition, neutral South Vietnam, neutral government, a prolonged process of re-unification, confirmed in a general election supervised by the Geneva International Commission. That is the alternative, Mr. President. I refuse to admit even the possibility of failure in this great crusade. We will not fail. We will succeed, and in succeeding we will make America a beacon of decency, justice, equality and peace. Thank you. (Applause)

(As reel #2 begins HERB APTHEKER is apparently conducting a question and answer period as reel is started with APTHEKER in the process of answering a question?)

We asked the Prime Minister. He said to him that it is frequently uncertain in the United States Press, and by the military, that there are regular units of the DRV in South Vietnam. Is that true, Mr. Minister. He said, no, it is not true. He said Mr. Prime Minister this is, to us, a very important question because it is repeatedly asserted and we want to be sure that you understood our question, of course it was being translated. And, we want to be sure that we have understood your answer. Do you say to us that there are no DRV troops in South Vietnam. He said I do. We said can we put that in the form of a written question and would you answer it for us in any way that you wish, in writing, so that we may publish that as well as other questions. Yes, you may and we did, and he answered that question in writing and we have since published it, we published it on the 16th of January. We came home and published it immediately. And, in the answer he was stronger (?) than verbally, he said that the assertion of the presence of the DRV troops in South Vietnam is the sheerest fabrication. Those were his words, the sheerest fabrication, affirmed in order to give some pretense for the American aggression and affirmed, also, as a moral sop (?) since the United States troops and their puppet prefer to be losing against the veterans of Dien Bien (phn) troops instead of simply against the NLF. But, they are simply being defeated, not by the veterans of Dien Bien Phu. Now, this was his statement and that's the first part of the answer to your question. The second is, you asked me my opinion of the veracity of this statement. My own opinion is that their answer to me is highly probable. I say this for the following reasons: One, as we said to the Prime Minister, this is a telling (phn) matter and, if what you are saying is not true, presumably it can be effectively refuted by the United States and, if

so, it would be quite damaging. He said I know that but it can not be refuted because it is true. Secondly, even the charges that come from the United States have both a limited and a highly nebulous, when carefully examined, character. Limited in that the greatest claim by the United States is seven regiments of DRV troops, this is about 8500 men altogether, 8500 as compared to 200,000 is, of course, a drop in the bucket. That's one thing. The second is that the demonstration of the actual existence of such troops, and this is a central point, dramatically has been notably weak. It has been, generally speaking, in journalistic reports, or it is reported that, or in this valley it is thought that, but they have not been made contact with, or we can not find them, so on. I would say that from the viewpoint of the craft of the historian, in terms of evidential phrases, the case made so far by the United States in this crucial point is slippery, unlike the affirmation of the Prime Minister of the DRV. It is unequivocally explicit to me. I have then answered both points. I've given you my opinion and I've given you precise (phn) in what the Prime Minister did say.

Moderator - Are there any other questions? (A question is asked in the background but can not be heard.)

APTHEKER - Did everyone hear the question? I can summarize it and see if I did allright. If not you hold your hand up. Young man said what about the facts concerning economic, material assistance by the DRV to the NFL. What about the so-called HO CHI MINH trail and does that, did you say something else? Is that it? That's the question. I am certain about the material and economic assistance to the DRV in North Vietnam. This is already massive and is increasing from China and from the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, and non-Socialist countries. I am not certain in my own mind about the material and economic assistance from the DRV to the NFL. I would offer, in my opinion, that I think it is highly probable that there is such assistance and, probable, in my opinion, that is considerable. I think that it is relatively new, it probably did not significantly begin until maybe 1965. That's the best that I can do. I can call your attention to the fact that our commanding officer in South Vietnam in 1943, General PAUL D. HARKINS, said that the weapons and materiel of the NLF was not Chinese, not the northern import (?) but came from Dien, when it was in charge, from the United States, and it was homemade. That's what the American commanding general said as late as the Spring of 1963. That's the best that I can do. Now, the existence of the so-called HO CHI MINH trail, which is supposed to go into Laos and Cambodia, has been denied both by the DRV and by Cambodia, although the United States has authorized now explicitly what it calls hot pursuit in Cambodia and has now admitted that aircraft from the Royal Laoation Airforce, which you gentlemen know is a tremendous air force, that aircraft from that air force is regularly bombing the Cambodia border area but the Chief of State of Cambodia says there is no HO CHI MINH trail, that there is no supply going via

Cambodia into Vietnam, but he explained this bombardment by the Royal Laoation Air Force, and they had come to our assistance in that, the border area (phn). That's the best I can do on that question. I s e a hand there ..... (laughter).

A question is asked in the background but it can not be heard.

APTHEKER - Well, it is a fact that the European press has reported for several months the bombardment of Laos by United States forces. About six weeks ago, or eight weeks ago, the United States confirmed the bombardment of Laos by the United States Air Force and said that it would bombard areas in Laos that were menacing to the defense efforts of the United States in Vietnam. So, we have ... admitted that this is being done. It is also a fact that this seems to have been adopted (phn) a long time ago and, apparently, special troops of the United States also participated in ground warfare there a long time ago. This is in SCHLESINGER's recent book on KENNEDY, and there have been other expose' because some of this seems to have been done independently by the CIA which now not only has an independent treasury but appears to have an independent military arm, I mean independent of the President. And, this now seems to include Air Force. This certainly is what SCHLESINGER says in his book. And, recently HENRY ... COMMIGER (Phn) has been repeating this. He did it very recently in the SATURDAY REVIEW. So, the bombardment of Laos by the United States, U.S.A. or U.S.C.I.A. has been common, repeated, for perhaps a year. It is now officially admitted, or if admitted is a charged word, it is now officially confirmed.

Unknown male in background - I would like to know whether or not these P.T. boats that attacked the American ships were driven by North Vietnamese, or do they exist at all, or was there an attack, or is the whole war (phn) a sham? (Laughter)

APTHEKER - You can be sure that the war (laughter makes rest of question and comment indistinct.) I was just going to say that you can be sure that the war is not a sham and you can be sure that the bombing in North Vietnam is not a sham because I looked at it.

Questioner - In Detroit and Michigan (?) that everything that we've read in our papers is probably the widest .... of anywhere in the world, is apparently untrue and trash. I was wondering now whether the attacks occurred or not. Was the bombing of the hotel in Saigon a true bombing or were the Americans dressed as Vietnamese Indians when engaged (?).

APTHEKER - Well, I'm glad that you had the chance of asking further questions so that we clarify what you actually had in mind (laughter). That is to say that you were right in ... about the P.T. boats, although I'll begin with them. Very obviously I do not know, neither do you, what happened in the Gulf of Tonkin. We know that one government, the United States Government, affirms that it's warships were attacked by P.T. boats from the DRV Navy



and our government says that, in response to this awful and aggressive assault, we would naturally reply and that, thereafter, we have naturally replied by continuing to bomb the DRV. Not only P.T. boats. The guard (phn) with the DRV, on the other hand, says that our Navy did (didn't?) attack the United States Navy. That is not true and that this particular charge is a sham to justify, or rationalize, the bombardment of our country. So, what we know is that one government says there was a P.T. attack and the other government says that there wasn't. You will weigh the likelihood of a naval attack by the DRV upon the United States and I will weigh the likelihood that this may not have occurred and is used as an excuse, which has not been (proven wrong?). For instance, American planes bombed Havana, U.S. Air Force planes bombed Havana and then when they came back thirty caliber rifle bullets were put through the fuselage in the appearance that they had been hit in Havana and that they were rebel planes from the Cuban Air Force, where that we now know they were United States planes in the first place and the bullets were put in the fuselage in Miami. This we now know. Now, you asked something else, or you said something else. You said that I had made the point here that everything in our ... a sham. I did not make that point at all and, to the contrary, I quoted several times in terms of controvertory (phn) evidence ... press of the United States which has a high degree of falsification and propaganda and a considerable degree, I think, of veracity with very hard working journalists, many of whom, like Mr. RESTON and so on, are excellent and manage to get across a great deal. So, I would in no way downgrade, and did not mean to downgrade, and did not downgrade, in fact, in my presentation. You thought that this is what I think so you thought that that is what you heard, but you did not in any (laughter).

Unknown male asks indistinct question in background.

APTYEKER - Yes, I view the Senate Foreign Relations development very positively. Not very long ago there was only one, possibly two Senators speaking out, GRUENING and MORSE, a couple of Senators raising questions, such as Mr. O'BRIEN. Today, thirty Senators have signed a, denunciation is too strong a word, opposition to the President's policy and about 70 (17?) Representatives and we are told, by our splendid press such as the NEW YORK TIMES ... that, actually, about twenty more Senators would have signed but for one reason or other they didn't. So, half the Senators are, opposes the President's policy. I view that as very promising indeed, a tremendous development, and a reflection of growing popular opposition and questions here and in the world. I may say this to you also. At my suggestion the three of us wired Senator FULBRIGHT from Hanoi. This may surprise you that it was my suggestion, but it was, that the three of us asked to testify before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Now, we had sense enough to suggest that the Senator reply to STAUGHTON LYND and, I can not speak (?), and he did. He replied to him, Professor LYND, and very courteously and said that the Foreign Relations Committee



was not then in session and, in fact, didn't plan to have such hearings. However, a secretary of Senator FULBRIGHT discussed with great length with Mr. LYND the trip, a specialist on Far Eastern Affairs came up from Washington to New Haven and interviewed Mr. LYND for about two and a half hours as to what might be done as to terminate the war and then Mr. LYND was invited by eight different Senators to come to their offices in Washington and he told me that he went with great fear and trembling but that they treated him like a hero. I said did they comment on your fellow traveler, he (laughter) said no, they didn't raise it at all and they were very meniable and agreeable and listened and urged that he continue his efforts. Now, that was about ten days before this developement so I, your question was how do I view it. I view it very positively and, in addition to former Ambassador KENNON, I call your attention to the remark of Ambassador HARRIMAN, I don't know if you noticed that, Ambassador HARRIMAN said that he thought it right that the NLF be present in negotiations so the United States can negotiate with the NLF. Now, this certainly is not in the Honolulu declaration. On the other hand, Ambassador HARRIMAN has never said that before. And, this is, of course, a prerequisite to any serious negotiations. So, there has been certain advances, there are certain signs of real encouragement, to answer you in a nutshell.

Unknown male - Doctor, three years ago in ... the leftists and the neutralists organized a coalition to fight the ... Would you care to comment on how this coalition has worked out?

APTHEKER - Do you mean in Laos? Comment within the severe limits of my knowledge in terms ...

Unknown male - In terms of your limits (laughter), (then makes indistinct comment).

APTHEKER - Marvelous wit here (laughter). I said this because, I said this because the whole question of Laos seems, to me, to be awful scarce (?). There is, uh, long periods when I read no reports at all. Now, if people here have some principal source that they see I would be very obliged if you would tell me, but the press, generally, has been sparse, as far as I know, and that's true also in the French press which I've tried to keep up with. Now, apparently the coalition which came into being with the 1962 agreement has largely disintegrated and, also, apparently seems to be renewed fighting, at least in part of Laos, particularly in the northern part. And, myself am dubious as to how serious that fighting is because of the sparse reports, but I think it is true that the 1962 arrangement of a broad coalition government has broken down, or has practically broken down. That is my answer, as far as I know, of this fact.

Unknown male asks indistinct question.

APTHEKER - I agree with you that this is central, or at least very important, the whole problem of developing a fully effective peace effort, because on the basis of consideration which you have very briefly summarized the anti-Communist rationale behind the policy of the government has a high degree of persuasiveness, because of this. So, it is a central question (?). I must, however, labor under the difficulty of any question period in which what you raised is the central matter, in my own thinking, and try to extract from that, briefly, within the limit of the question period something which will reflect to you what is persuasive to me. And, that's a very difficult thing, especially in a country which has been so inundated with anti-Communism as this country. Now, just briefly, I think, and I can always be asserted (?) now, I think that the record of the history of diplomacy in international relations, certainly since 1946, demonstrates that the source of the cold war, the source of the arms race, the source of resistance to colonial liberation and the source of the war danger has been overwhelmingly the classical imperialist countries. I think that data in the past twenty years of international history would confirm this and I tried to do it in a book of mine called the AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND THE COLD WAR. I think that D. F. FLEMING does substantially that, not doubt much better in two volumes, HOROWITZ does in his recent book, J. P. MORAY (MURRAY?) did in his study of disarmament. I find that few (?), often not Communists, persuasive, true. This does not mean that this is one hundred percent so. Nothing is, historically and in human events, but overwhelmingly, I think that the source of the war danger has lain with and lays with the classical capitalist, monopolist, imperialist powers. That's the first area. Secondly, I would say that I thought (phn) it persuasive the very profound desire for peace which exists pretty universally in the Socialist countries and I would say especially in the Soviet Union. Again I can only be asserted (phn), but I think there are good evidences of that and very good reasons for it. Not least, 20 million dead in World War II, but I think it's true. I don't think that is true here, certainly not in the same degree, and certainly not in ruling circles. I think it is true, by and large, in the Socialist world and this helps persuade me of this feud (phn) in international affairs. I think that very recently the behavior, especially, of the Soviet Union in international affairs has been notably moderated, has notably been in the direction of peace, and an extraordinary example of that is the amazing success in the Indian, Pakistan development. This helps persuade me of this feud (phn). Specifically in the area of individual freedoms I would say by and large the development hereto (here too?) in the Socialist countries, and notably in the Soviet Union, has been in a relative sense positive. That is the Soviet Union, from the viewpoint of traditional freedoms to us, which of course is historically an anachronistic view for them, but taking that view for us, I would say that the past 20 years, and particularly the past 15, have shown very positive developments in the Soviet Union. This is not uniform but it is generally so. I may add as an interest to anybody that I have lectured (phn) often in

the Soviet Union, been there very often, and that my central point when I am there is criticism of the absence of this to the degree that it is absent and encouragement and an appeal that it be enhanced. I do not think that this is my central task in the United States as an American. I think that here my central task is what I have been trying to do and that is to radicalize this society, to overcome the concept of Marxism as a criminal conspiracy, to undo the Mc Carran Act and to stop the aggressive foreign policy and particularly the war in Vietnam. Finally, of the two officers, of course jailing of officer, as officers is, to me, abominable. I would add on this that, you compared the United States and the Soviet Union here, this area, that infinitely more worrisome to me is what was done to the two men released by the NLF, SMITH and CORTER (phn) I believe their names are, and their disappearance from the public view of these two men and the fact that they seem to be, if not incarcerated, incommunicado. This is an extraordinary development. And, I do not know, I'm not quite clear as to why there hasn't been an eruption in this country on the basis of this rather unusual course of behavior of the United States Government in terms of incommunicado. These are some of my thoughts. Now, there additional things and that is that overall, for example, I would say that these societies which are Socialist are today infinitely preferable to those societies before they were Socialist, and I think that this is the only way that you can compare. I think that what it means to live in the Soviet Union as compared to what it meant to live in Czarist Russia, what it means to live in Socialist Bulgaria compared to what it meant to live in Bulgaria when it was free under King BORIS (phn). What it means to live in Socialist Rumania as compared to what it was under King RACHEL (phn) which I repeat is the only comparison, of course. What Cuba is today compared to what it was under Batista, I think, the evidence leads me to the conclusion that Socialism is infinitely progressive, infinitely humanistic in terms of the condition of the vast majority. I say the same thing is true in terms of what I saw in the DRV as compared to what they were when they were a French colony, and I think that this is the way to tell the truth (phn). This is the best that I can do within the limits ... this type of a question period.

Unknown male asks indistinct question.

APTHEKER - No, and I'm not after that. Right here, what I've answered here is, as persuasively as possible, to argue that this war in which our government is engaged is awful and atrocious and anti-human and contrary to our national interests, really. That's the first thing. And, second, that, therefore, the American people should become sufficiently aroused to force the change in foreign policy and that this can be accomplished. That's what I want to do, and to the best of my ability here, I want also to say that the anti-Communist obsession is an obsession and that the definition of Communism in the Mc Carran Act, the definition of Communism in our State Department, the working definition which

defines the governments that we approve of and dis-approve of, in the Dominican Republic, in Viet Nam, that this whole Anti-Communism hysteria is false, is hysteric, is insane, is not different from that of Hitler and that this must be overcome also and that one must see Marxism and Communism, not as criminal conspiracies, but as ways of life ... which may be persuasive to infinitely moral, decent and even intelligent people, far and away as the present speaker, but DREISER, DU BOIS, or ARAGON(phn), or O'CASEY or SHAW, or BERNARD, or EATON, or CATUSO(phn) that, and that our country doesn't see that, doesn't operate on this, it operates on the old, hysterical, anti-Communist basis which destroyed, ruined Germany. It ruined Japan, ruined Italy and if persisted in will ruin this country. That's my main message. (Applause)

MODERATOR - I think that we ran a little bit over our time and we won't be able to take any more questions now. The next speaker happens to be -

APTHEKER (interrupts) May I just have the opportunity of thanking you all very much. (Applause)

MODERATOR: Next there will be a discussion with DR APTHEKER, MR LEW JONES of the Young Socialist Alliance, and PROFESSOR RAPOPORT -

UNID FEMALE: ..... may be exactly what I'll do. Join in a discussion with PROFESSOR RAPOPORT and MR JONES with respect to the Anti-War Movement in the United States. Ah, ANATOLE RAPOPORT, I'm sure is known to you all. He is a research in Conflict(ph) revolution(ph), a Father of the original Teach-In Movement, and a leader in the Peace Movement. Ah, LEW JONES is a National Committeeman of the Young Socialist Alliance and is currently on tour of the Anti-War Committees across the country, speaking on the question, "Whether or not the Anti-War Movement should call for negotiations or withdrawal". And there will be approximately twenty minutes interpretations; first by LEW JONES and by PROFESSOR RAPOPORT and then the floor will again be open to questions, also MR APTHEKER.

LEW JONES: Thank you LINDA. As you can see the tense and amiable ways that she is wise is against me but I don't think that will get in our way and I think that we can have a personal discussion and the generational barrier won't get in our way. I want to start out by saying I had him put on the record, I know that DR APTHEKER has spent a great deal of time in his speech talking about the charge of KING and DR WEBB, and ah some uncertain connotations(ph) from FBI? The charges that they are traitors. I think that we should all go on record tonight, against that, and reaffirm that we do not think that they are traitors in their ways on a basis of their democratic rights such as anybody else does. And they have every right to say what they think about the war regardless of their political views, Okay, Now tonight, our discussion is around the debate the Anti-War Movement(ph), that has been going on; around the slogan. But, I enjoyed DR APTHEKER's remarks about the constant hypocrisy in his presentation of the aims of the war.

And just recently there has been a few more, in just seeing the peace offensive come to a grinding halt. To be followed now, by the Great Society in Viet Nam, that he (LBJ) tried to set up in Honolulu. And that is, MR JOHNSON is now going to rebuild hospitals, brebuild villages and have social reforms all over the place in South Viet Nam. Now of course any \_\_\_\_\_ will get the same highly paid bureaucracy in South Viet Nam that we have in the United States implementing the Great Society. The bureaucracy or a program that does very little to solve the problems that face people in the United States and in South Viet Nam; it more or less serves as a safety valve to stop the unrest. Will these people get the same thing in Viet Nam from the Great Society there? I think so. I think it is a nice bouquet that JOHNSON has made up, to cover up what he is doing in Viet Nam. And that of course is where the real contradiction comes in. Because how do you build and rebuild a country with the same target bombing and napalming it off the face of the globe? It is quite a contradiction and I don't think that JOHNSON is going to be able to get around it. The Great Society in Viet Nam is a gimmick and very little element(ph). The gimmick is to get support in this country, a gimmick to get support in Southeast Asia, and a gimmick to get support throughout the world. The real reality faces every youth in this country, in this room, and in this country particularly if he is a male youth; is the reality of a continuing war, an escalating war. They are now calling the war in South Viet Nam; that is is going to be a war in proportion to the Korean War. With the problem of war eventually with North Viet Nam and a likely war with China and a very definite possibility of World War III, is being proposed. If the front stays along this line, we are discussing as a base. That is the reality that faces us. It is the reality of our time. And what it means to everyone of us here is the future draft, war and possible death. Well that reality, I think, gives a sense of importance to what we are discussing tonight. And that is; we are discussing in essence the future of the anti-war movement, and it is that sector in society that is opposed to war in Viet Nam and wants to see it brought to a halt. We are discussing that it is basic to that anti-war movement and debate over where that anti-war movement wants to go. What should the anti-war movement do? What should it become? What slogan should it adopt, to revolve all this work around. Should it adopt a slogan for negotiated settlement in Viet Nam or should it adopt a slogan of immediate withdrawal of foreign troops; ah, U. S. troops. Alright, now this is the base in the anti-war movement that has been going on for some time; as a matter of fact it has gone on throughout the continuous, the whole existence of the anti-war movement. What do I say when I say 'Anti-War Movement'? I'm referring to what's popped up since last April at the SDS March on Washington, where you had all over the country independent anti-war committees popping up. There is over 300 of them now, and that is what I refer to as the anti-war movement. Well this is the base in this anti-war movement, ever since it started. PROFESSOR STAUGHTON LYND, was the one who began it, I believe, when he wrote about the destructiveness of coalition politics in the role of the Democratic Party, in Liberation Magazine along about the time of the April march on Washington.

And ever since then this debate has been going on in the anti-war movement and it has been going on hard and on a very high political level. Its gone through several subjects; it has gone through coalitionism in politics versus Independent Political Action. It has gone through exclusionary membership policy versus non-exclusionary membership policy, but now it evolves around the slogan, around the idea. What is the central slogan for the movement? Well, I think, in our discussion tonight we should put out right now, that these two slogans, when you discuss them, you of necessity have to discuss the perspective of the Movement. Because, how can you discuss a slogan, that your going to evolve activity around without talking about where that activity is going to go. What is it going to do and what it is going to make the movement become. Well, let me throw out right now what I think is possible pall that you can go through when a movement is moving, that is, where can it possibly go? What possible prospectus does it have in front of it? I think there is two possible prospectus what will pull it out; one, of course, is working within the power structure, working within apparatus, working within the Democratic Party, to change the foreign policy, to try to somehow maneuver within that power structure to force the war to a halt. The opposite to that, of course, is working without the Democratic Party without the Administration, without the power structure. Its that choice that the movement has made up until this time. Up until this time it has worked without the power structure. It has been purely an oppositional movement, that is, it says, stop this war, we want to replace it, we don't want to change it or do anything about it. You want to stop it and replace the foreign policy that is behind it. A rotten foreign policy that stems from trying to maintain American interests throughout the world and we are against it and we want to see it replaced. It stands repulsive there and wants to replace it. Well, that is the movements choice. I can tell you right now, I suppose many of you could tell me what JOHNSON's choice would be on these two polar prospectus. And that is, JOHNSON undoubtedly would like to see the anti-war movement within the range of his own party, the Democratic Party, and he, of course, has a very good reason for that, I think, and that is, the Democratic Party's long long history of crushing, tainting protest movements that went into its ranks. And he can start, he can go way back in the Democratic Party and follow this through. He can start with Reconstruction. The Democratic Party was used as the agent for crushing Reconstruction in The South. The PATHOS(ph) party made the big joint Democratic Party and we haven't heard so much from them since. And there is many many other examples of this, and that is why JOHNSON would like to see the anti-war movement within the ranks of his own party. Well, my proposition is that the slogan, bring the troops home now; that is withdraw the troops is the only slogan that can really be in character with the movement that has been upset since now, it is the only slogan that can rebuild the movement and its the only slogan that can really end the war. Or, opposed to that is a slogan - negotiation. It changes the character of the movement, it won't really build the movement and it brings the movement into the orbit, the general orbit of the Democratic Party which it could be brought into, to contain.

Okay, let's go on now, and examine what I've just said and see if it's really the case. I want to start from a principle point of view, from a democratic point of view, a democratic principle. And the democratic principle I start with is a very simple one. It is the ABC's of democratic principles. The right of nations to self-determination. I think that most of us in this room tonight are for freedoms of democracy, democratic rights in general. Moreover, we are for total democracy, and as such, we support democratic rights. And one of those basic rights, ABC is a democratic right, the right of nations to self-determination. It is a right which the American Revolution recognized in 1776 and it is a right that the American Revolution forced old King George to recognize, as well. Our country was founded on the principle of the right of nations to self-determination. Well, I don't think that we people in the advanced countries; such as the United States, or Western Europe or others can have any tolerance whatsoever. The idea that we have some right to tell, advise, coerce, influence countries in the colonial world, on what they should do. We can in no way think that we have any right to tell them what to do, because to think otherwise we would be right back to the old 19th century slogan, or theory, of the white man's burden. We have to respect the rights and ability of the people in the colonial countries, to do as they wish. For what does this concept self-determination mean, in Viet Nam? It means simply that we believe that the Vietnamese people have the exclusive right to decide what to do with their country; and what it should become and how it should become that. And they have that right totally free from outside intervention, influence, or coercion(ph); that is, we defend their democratic rights, just as we defend our own. But much spirit ceases(ph), the slogan, negotiations in any form flies right in the face of this right of self-determination because they are calling for negotiations to, in some way or another, recognize the right of the United Nations, United States, excuse me, to determine the future of Viet Nam. In one way or another your recognizing that the United States has some right, some interest in determining the future of Viet Nam. Well, in the course of my tour, several people brought up to me, that they support negotiations in order to implement the Geneva Agreement, which supposedly guaranteed self-determination, and they say that is why they support negotiations. Well, I think, contradiction is obvious. How Americans can negotiate something which supposedly guarantees self-determination and that is. And when they meet in the middle, how do you negotiate self-determinations? Self-determination is a black and white issue; you can't take away part of it and still have self-determination. You can't take away a part and still have the whole. Well, you may say it's not whole, but the Geneva Agreement supposedly guarantees self-determination. Well, it's not really the case. Let's take a look and find out. I think the Geneva Agreements do have several good provisions and DR AP THEKER named several of them. Such as, no strong military bases in Viet Nam, unification of the country; those are all good in the sense that they conform to the situation in Viet Nam, conform to the wishes of the Vietnamese people, and the United States has violated every single one of them.



And its the anti-war's duty to make sure, to try to make the United States abide by those accords. But, I don't think, on the other hand, that you can construe the Geneva accords, as a guarantee of self-determination. And let me explain it this way. At the Geneva Conference, where the Geneva accords were agreed upon; you had two representatives from Viet Nam, and then, representatives from Britain, France, China, Soviet Union, and the United States. They all attended that conference and they all signed it, with the exception of the United States, but the United States agreed to it. That is what happened; the decisions prescribing the fate of the Vietnamese people; were made by all these powers. That is, they all chipped in and decided the future of Viet Nam. Well, that is not quite self-determination, not quite. As a matter of fact, its almost as cynical a thing as what happened at Potsdam, Yalta, and Teheran after World War II; when TRUMAN, and/or ROOSEVELT, CHURCHILL, and STALIN sat around a table and calmly divided up the world, behind the worlds back. That concept of a conference to guarantee self-determination is entirely in contradiction of the rights of self-determination. Well to go further, the Geneva accords provides for elections to unite the country under International supervision and that, I've been told, is guaranteed self-determination. Well, thats not quite self-determination either. That is the kind of self-determination PRESIDENT JOHNSON would like, because it guarantees him, his interest. You see, the United States is very powerful and it doesn't have, wouldn't have too much trouble using almost any international body in the world to pursue its own interests. But, to call for international elections in Viet Nam, would be like some drips calling for international elections, eh, elections under international control in the United States. Now, I know good old PRESIDENT JOHNSON would be a little upset by people calling for such elections in this country, and I know a lot of other people who would be too, and I think the Vietnamese people have every right to be upset, about people calling for such elections in their own country. There is a little something else to that, embarrassing, doesn't that sound like the Vietnamese people aren't capable of running their own elections. Somebody has to come in and supervise them. It gets very close, to what I would call 'showmanism'(ph), which makes it very uncomfortable to the whole thing. Well, nothing could be farther from the idea of self-determination than this idea of implementing the Geneva accord; having negotiations around that. The only way we can guarantee self-determination, I think, is just simply get the troops out and let the Vietnamese people decide for themselves, what they want to do. Well, I see that my time is running a little short here. What I want to do now is to switch to another point, on this whole argument and that is, the debate on the whole anti-war movement. The answer is actually very simple, when you look at it, and that is, look at it from this point of view. The American people as a whole have absolutely no material interest in this war in Viet Nam, absolutely none, and just think about it for a minute. Think of it in terms of the sections of the American population. Start with the negro people, can you think of any possible material interest they have in this war? I can't think of any.



What about the white working class, do they have any interest? No. What about the students? No. Now you can go through the whole population and find that they don't have any material interest in this war, except for a very small minority, and by the way, that minority nobody talks about giving minority rights to, because they already have them. And that is the minority that happens to own most of this country. The minority to make the profit on bombs, bullets, helicopters in stopping colonial revolution. So it is from that point of view, you see. Well let me say something else. You see the slogan negotiate in some way recognizes that national interest, recognizes an interest in Viet Nam for the American people, or for some sections of the American population. It is implicit within the slogan negotiate, that your negotiating about American interests. And see, so from that point of view, you have to say that the slogan negotiate, has to be brought in from without and imposed upon movements of the American people and has to be imposed upon them and against their very own interests. And for that reason, amongst others, that I'm opposed to the slogan negotiate. I think the slogan is useless to the anti-war movement, the slogan negotiate. It disregards the self-determination of the Vietnamese people and imposes the material interests on the movement, which it does not have and in the course of doing this it draws the movement closer to the Democratic Party, closer to the power structure, draws into that general orbit and by doing that it lays the basis for the (garbled) of the movement. I think the slogan was wrong, on the other hand to reaffirm the character of the movement and by doing that, it places itself in solidarity with what is going on in the rest of the world, very clearly. You see that section of the world has said goodbye to the United States, has said goodbye to United States domination, has declared its independence and is going to fight for and settle for nothing less. That is, those countries in Latin America, and Africa, and Southeast Asia. The people in Santo Domingo made that decision. They said, no more for the United States, we're going for independence and we're settling for nothing less. The people in Viet Nam are obviously making the same decision, they want their independence and they want nothing less. I think it is time for the Anti-War Movement to do the same. Declare itself in solidarity with those struggles, to reaffirm the character and identify those people throughout the world. Declare its independence, recognize the enemy, in Washington, in the Democratic Party. Take aim and begin the process that can really end this war. That is, rally around the slogan, bring the troops home, build the movement and bring this war in Viet Nam to a halt, once and for all. Thank you. (applause)

LINDA BELISLE: And now PROFESSOR ANATOLE RAPOPORT. (applause)

RAPOPORT: With regard to the alternative which I consider to be, the, in the best interest of the United States. I find that I have nothing to add to what MR APTHEKER or MR JONES, have said. I am in complete agreement with them and if I were to talk on this subject, it would be highly redundant. There are a few points, however, which I would like to take up which may not have been mentioned or possibly certain points of disagreement. I don't share the implicit optimism -

expressed by MR APTHEKER nor that expressed by MR JONES. I do not believe that, at the present time, there is yet enough of a force in the United States to effect a real reversal of foreign policy. Let us make some calculations. It is said that about 30% of the adults in this country, 'Oppose The War in Viet Nam'. You understand that this 30% involves people in the widest section of opinion. That means about 38 million adults. Out of these, I would venture to say, not more than 10% certainly are activists, in the sense that they would be willing to do something about the war in Viet Nam; let's say 3 million. Can we then say that we have a peace movement of 3 million persons in this country? We do not have such a peace movement. Because if we had such a peace movement, in a sense of a participant movement such as a re-discipline(ph) of evolution in political party proceedings. It would be possible to take let's say one-third of these three million people, let's say one million people and put them all into Washington at one time. That is what creates a world concession, you would not have any idea what it means to have one million people in a city. The great civil rights demonstration of August 1963 encompassed some hundred thousand people, and that was a tremendous manifestation. A million people in Washington would attract world-wide attention and if they all sat down and refused to be moved (laughter), as I've seen some of you youngsters do; then it would really be a revolutionary situation. We do not have such a situation in the United States. The people who are opposed to the war in Viet Nam have a wide range of opinions and only a very small minority sees this situation, as MR APTHEKER, MR JONES, and I see it. Namely, that there is only one alternative to try, and that is, the crime must stop and the criminal must be punished. Now there is nobody to punish the United States short of the uprooting(ph) of the world. This is an unfeasible solution. So what do you mean for the United States to shift its policy? It would mean, it would mean a recognition that the policy is wrong. It would not be enough to withdraw the troops from Viet Nam. I say, I would go much farther. I insist that not only must the troops be withdrawn from Viet Nam, but the policy must be denounced and not only for moral reasons, but for political reasons. Because, that the only original contribution to international politics that was ever made by this country, and it was a very great one, although a problem, was the destruction of the old CLAUSEWITZ(ph) world. What do I mean by the CLAUSEWITZ(ph) world? It was a classical world of great powers by the great powers, in conflict of certain rules, naives(ph), and certain realizations of what the realities of international politics and war relaxed(ph). This is what CLAUSEWITZ(ph)(KARL VON CLAUSEWITZ?) maintained. The reality, presence of realities in international situations according to CLAUSEWITZ was that you pushed for as much as you could get, but you are always aware of what the other party can do to you. You never overstep your bounds. You never played for keeps. Limited war is the idea of the CLAUSEWITZIAN(ph) policy. Now this was very much the character of the world from about 1648 to 1940. The world from the 18th century on was largely dominated by the European powers, 19th century especially, and those powers vied with each other for position of influence power and so on and they did not like to go to war if they felt that they could get away with it. This was the CLAUSEWITZIAN (ph) \_\_\_\_\_.

The entry of the United States into World War I was a challenge to the CLAUSEWITZIAN system. Most important points, was in fact, a \_\_\_\_\_ of the old CLAUSEWITZIAN system. Now you know that misfired. The old European powers were stronger than WILSON and he himself was much of a lunkhead(ph). So actually it wasn't ideal. This idea again comes up for a \_\_\_\_\_ in ROOSEVELT's time. When we entered World War II, not from the view of another power vying for the position of power, but from the view of destroying a focus of world making potential in the world which was aimed at this country. So this was the one big contribution. Although it was never realized. But it was a potential contribution that American international politics, of little thinking, made for this world. And it is precisely this contribution, which is now being the game(ph). They try to just write books about American national policy and how to conduct the cold war, \_\_\_\_\_ wars, \_\_\_\_\_ war, nuclear wars; and how many is it, 49 varieties that MR KANN(ph) wrote about. These are all attempts to bring back the CLAUSEWITZIAN way of thinking; to make war respectable again. This is their aim. So that in order to put an end to it, it is not enough to simply withdraw troops from Viet Nam, an explicit addition must be made; that the United States disavow this kind of world. We cannot expect this of the present or any foreseeable future government of the United States. The people who get in power, who get elected to the Presidency, who get to be Cabinet Ministers, get to be Senators; most of them do not think in these terms. Not necessarily because they are evil men, I don't judge men individually good or evil just because they have not had experience, which would make them think in other terms. They simply don't know. They haven't lived the way 9/10's of the world population lives and they think in terms of sticking pins in the map and thinking about national interests in terms of drawing lines on maps; lines around the 'Communist land masses'(ph) with the idea that when you draw these lines and then translate these lines to hardware(ph) they are ready to present new social ideas for cleaning up in the world and from revolutionist attacks. And this is the way they think, and they are not going to change their way of thinking, unless something very drastic happens to them. And you know what it means when something very drastic happens to them, and it will happen to us too. I'm sorry if I'm giving you a very pessimistic picture, but this is the way I see it. Is then, there is no hope, at all? Yes, there is some hope, although I would venture to say that it is a very slim one. Maybe if things continue to pester this way, eventually and gradually public resentment will raise such a pitch that the politicians will find it expedient to do something else. And when they do something else, its another thing to be drastic in their confessions, and promises to reform; and now we are going to live in a new world, its not going to be that. It is going to be rationalized entirely different. Now how do we accomplish that? Because, I believe that people \_\_\_\_\_. It is not accomplished by slogan, and I think it is idle to argue what should be the slogan of the peace movement. We haven't got a peace movement. (applause) And it will not be unified with that slogan. Now, does that mean I'm against slogans! No. I'm not against slogans. I'm all for slogans. I'll give you another example. I'm sometimes asked whether I advocate unilateral disarmament.

Well, to begin with I don't advocate it because I think unilateral disarmament is only half as good as bilateral disarmament. (laughter) And incidentally, bilateral and multilateral disarmament are easier to achieve than unilateral disarmament. So being easier to achieve and better, why should I advocate unilateral disarmament. I don't. Does that mean that I'm against those that advocate unilateral disarmament? No, I'm not. I say I do not advocate unilateral disarmament but I do advocate the advocates using unilateral disarmament. You follow? Is it as different as \_\_\_\_\_ certainly you know it by name. Well, its thinking was this. I know the slogans, whether to get out of Viet Nam or whether to negotiate or as a matter of support, I even would support GENERAL GAVIN, even him, I will support. I will support anybody who maintains that the present policy is wrong and something else has to be done. Because, whatever is done, is going to be better than what is going on right now. (applause) So, therefore what would I like to see? I would like to see. What would I like to see? (audience laughs) I would like to see a complete defeat of the present United States foreign policy (applause) and a complete reversal. I would like to see somebody get up and make the kind of speech that NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV once made about STALIN. Something of that sort. (Garbled, laughter by audience) But it won't happen in this country, we don't have these kinds of traditions, you see. We never had a PEYEVSKY(ph), we never had the Moscow Trials, we never have any of these things that the Russians pride themselves so much of. (laughter) The sudden reversal of policies and all of a sudden everything that was good is bad and everything that was bad is good. We don't have these kinds of techniques, we can't do it. So, it will not happen. Face saving operation may happen, this may be. For example, in Korea, face was saved, China, and it did not develop into the 3rd World War and I remember that very well, as many of you in this room don't, but I do. And many of us thought that this was it. This was the end. Well, we got a reprieve. Maybe we'll get another reprieve, if we get another reprieve we can continue working at it. So, therefore, I say in answer to the question, "Whether we should work within the Democratic Party or outside the Democratic Party? These are idle questions. They should not be debated here. Everybody should work where he fits to this work. If you want to organize a party of your own, go ahead. If you want to demonstrate, go ahead. If you want to write letters, go ahead. And if you want to join the Democratic Party and work from within, go ahead. That's good too. (applause) There are lots of ways of doing it and what would be a booster, is not to belittle somebody's method because no matter what, if it changes United States policy away from the collision course, on which it is now set, this is for the best, for all of us. (Applause) The only other big thing, can we hope eventually to get you. Thanks. (applause)

LINDA BELISLE: (Indistinct)

HERBERT AP'THEKER: The two gentlemen who are speaking have very kindly invited me to say something. I want to say that PROFESSOR RAPOPORT labors under a misapprehension if he thinks that my views on this question(microphone interference) of MR JONES. They are infinitely closer to those professed by PROFESSOR RAPOPORT. I do not know how good that is for PROFESSOR RAPOPORT. (laughter) And I really hesitated to make that news public, but it is so. And when he began by saying that he disagreed with me in terms of optimism, does not seem enough now to change United States foreign policy. I don't either. I saw not now, I'm simply excited with joy. We're not far from love(all ph), when I think that we've made considerable advances and I have an optimistic approach perhaps, that is more so than his. I would like to spend a few minutes on the question, in terms of negotiation. Just say it quickly and sit down. The slogan of \_\_\_\_\_ negotiation may be non-negotiating, maybe \_\_\_\_\_. It may have intent as I think it often has had from Washington, to prevent the settlement of the war, to cover up escalation, and the makings of a war. But it may not. Negotiations happen in all wars. Every war is settled by negotiations. Including even the war which we said would not settle with anything but unconditional surrender. Even unconditional surrender has to be negotiated. And we negotiated with Germany and we negotiated with Japan. In both cases it was something else but unconditional incidentally after we got through negotiating. But in any case for once we didn't(ph) get it negotiated, unless you pursue a genocidal policy and in fact nobody would hope to get together anyway. But at some point it was over with, and the war ends, and when it does, it ended through negotiations. The DRV opposes surrender, it does not oppose negotiations. The NFL opposes surrender, it does not oppose negotiations. It has never said it opposes negotiations on the terms of JOHNSON, and I think in this, is right. Not only has it said that it does not oppose negotiations, it has a firm principle for such negotiations; the DRV in four points and the NFL in five(points). On the basis of which negotiations is to proceed. Now the quality(ph) of the peace movement has a bland and says no to negotiations, it may, and I think will, itself end up allied with the right. Because the certainly says no negotiations, Saigon says no negotiations, KY says no negotiations. So, I don't think that necessarily no negotiations is a simon pure revolutionary slogan. At any rate MARSHAL KY is a(n) (e)strange(d)(ph) revolutionary. That is his slogan. It is not mine. I think it is wrong. The DRV wants the broadest nature, by the way, of opposition to war in the United States, in regards to those people possibly to participate and the NFL has all sorts of slogans. You know the demonstrations and so on, in Saigon, the NFL is part of those demonstrations and they raise all sorts of slogans in Saigon, thats right. Thats our social security and everything else. They don't want MARSHAL KY, they want MARSHAL somebody else, whoever, he is. All kinds of opposition, those are NFL slogans. And furthermore, of course, they did negotiate at Geneva, Geneva was negotiated. But we have been told here that self-determination is a sign of principles(ph) established in our revolution. Well we negotiated the end of our revolution. We negotiated a very long time with Great Britain and we signed the treaty of Paris.

(APTHEKER) And we got self-determination through a negotiated settlement, and there were certain terms, and the British remained a long time in our forts, they held all the forts in New York and Charleston(ph) and they remained there a long time, by agreement and by \_\_\_\_\_, and that is why \_\_\_\_\_ retained the posts in the Northwest and the then Northwest and it took years of negotiations before we got them to leave. There were all sorts of negotiations. How much they would pay indemnity for the slaves that they took with them, and so on and so forth. So we negotiated, in a war, in which as we have been talking, MR JONES affirmed self-determination. Irrepeat, the DRV wishes to negotiate, so does the NFL. We are told that Geneva does not guarantee self-determination, but the DRV and the NFL thinks that it does. I suggest that we not be to the left (ph) as these folks(ph). (laughter). They say that Geneva guarantees their right to independence and integrity and unity and that this is the right of self-determination, and that that right was recognized by the negotiating parties, and of course self-determination has to be recognized. A new nation has to appear in community relations and that must be negotiated. So they negotiated there and that is what the DRV and the NFL want. They want back to Geneva, the agreement of Geneva. They do not see this as a cynical(ph) reform(ph). Now we are told that there must be opposition to international supervision of elections, and that this is what PRESIDENT JOHNSON wants, not at all. It depends on who is the supervisor. In Geneva was provided elections in 1956 and that was signed by the DRV and HO CHI MINH and that government wanted and fought for it. Internationally supervised elections under the Geneva agreement and it was signed down in Washington, that said no, it is not true, that Washington wants that kind of elections. They didn't want them in '56, but that is why it wasn't down, and they don't want it now. But the DRV did want it in '56 and they want it now, and they are calling for it now. So I find myself very considerably in disagreement and not in agreement. This thing has to be negotiated, we must end this war, we must not be in the bind because of negotiations. We must have a responsible peace movement that we can get in many of our slogans and statements, and so on. We'll be much broader, much wider, much looser, much more flexible; than the DRV and the NFL, and they know that. And they say god-speed to you. Any kind of an opposition as PROFESSOR RAPOPORT mentioned is beneficial, is good and any kind to any limit depending upon the class consciousness, opinion of the person, these ought to be welcomed. And the achievement of the end of this war, is a process, a process, a practical process and they might have won. Thank you. (applause)

LINDA BELISLE: Asks if there are any questions?

UNID MALE: (in background asks question, which is indistinct).

LINDA BELISLE: (Indistinct in the background)

RAPOPORT: Although co-education(ph) is such, some \_\_\_\_\_ in particular of my professional interests. I simply don't picture this kind of experience in terms of information input(ph). It isn't that one reads certain things or has knowledge of some facts that determines the kind of experience, that I alluded to. It has to do with the structure of our full life. Very few people in the United States have had the kind of experiences that motivate people in poor countries to stake their lives on a revolutionary movement(ph). It isn't a matter of knowing the facts, it is a matter of having gone through certain things, and that has the spirits, in a way, we often count it as a blessing. But it has \_\_\_\_\_, it may be \_\_\_\_\_. Now in regards to your question, do I conceive of them changing. I don't think that people in their middle age change. I do believe that it is quite possible that they might \_\_\_\_\_ change policies but in order for the United States to become a different kind of an influence in world affairs. I believe that the generation has to die off. I don't think they can change any of that map, so as to initiate a real change in the kind of a country we are. Not only do the experiences of the individuals have to be different, but the kind of people who rise to the position of power; it has to be a different kind of personality. We could use(ph) everyone of them today. The same kind of people would appeal to this day. See in times gone by, there were revolutions and entirely different people would come to power. The kind of revolutions they had in Russia say, or China, or Algeria. Different kind of people with different experiences, different ways of thinking; came to power. I do not think that such a revolution will occur in the United States, shortly, of a world catastrophe and then of course these questions will become highly academic. That is why I'm indefinite(ph). I believe that the country suffers under a tremendous hanging(ph) of not having had certain experiences and since the experiences we have had as such, that we believe that the entire world should aspire to them and you will \_\_\_\_\_ the \_\_\_\_\_. It is extremely difficult for us even to put ourselves in place of people who are having entirely different experiences. That's what makes it such an experience, at least in short. What happened in recent times, I don't know. Therefore, our present task is to somehow hold it and prevent for catastrophies from happening. Put as much pressure as we can for changes of policies, but you will not be able to very soon the change the character of this country. (applause)

UNID FEMALE directs question to APTHEKER or JONES and says it takes two sides of the same coin because our questions \_\_\_\_\_, it seems from different points of view. I'm torn when I hear MR JONES speak of a slogan - withdraw the troops now because I've seen what slogans can do as a divisive force. Because they are hard and they are not flexible and they don't allow people with a wide range to come under the \_\_\_\_\_ of such a slogan. But at the same time, I'm alienated by what MR APTHEKER says because I view myself as a radical in the position



of a very small radical movement in this country to be taking the heart of mine possible because you'll have to set an example(ph). There will be enough people to fill in the middle. There will be plenty of people that say negotiate, there will be plenty of people that will say take it to the UN. There won't be plenty of people to say, get the troops out now, you have no legal basis to be there, get out. And the possible and the plausible are often not the position that the radical should take. But at the same time, I saw what happened at Washington with sloganism and the way people were at each others throats who should have been embracing each other and that is why I am torn and I'd like perhaps everybody on the panel to comment about that dilemma.

LINDA BELISLE is indistinct

LEW JONES: Okay, I can understand the dilemma, as you say. I think first of all, that I may have been misunderstood by the members of the panel. I am for a very broad peace movement and there is something in many different slogans. But I address my remarks to that sector of the Peace Movement as the Anti-War Movement, that sector of the movement that is having a debate right now over what its future should be. And my experiences have been, from going around the country: in Washington, D. C., Los Angeles, San Francisco, Berkeley, has been that people tend toward the slogan, bring the troops home. Now, I agree with DR RAPOPORT, that our movement is small and with this, I might even think that it is smaller than was estimated. I think that we have nothing but optimism for the future; in building, in the building of the movement. Because there is forces in operation right now, that is going to radicalize a lot of people. Now (JAMES?) RESTON today in his column (NEW YORK TIMES?) said that there is going to be 400 thousand troops in Viet Nam by the end of the year. That means, that war is going to get big, going to get brutal, and there is going to be a lot of Americans killed over there. The soldiers, I don't think are going to put up with a situation like that, for long. In addition, you have tax increases, we have inflation in this country and all these things operate on people. Tending to make them radicalized, tends to make them think about the war, tend to make them opposed to the war. And I think under those circumstances, the slogan, bring the troops home, will bring more people around to it, than the slogan, negotiate. But I may disagree with you, that the slogan, bring the troops home; there is not going to be many people calling for it. Because the slogan, bring the troops home; when you adopted it, it settled problems immediately. You no longer had increased taxes, to pay for the war, because you had no more war. The troops are brought home, right. The rational for inflation is taking over and you no longer have a drain of getting men to Viet Nam, they are all brought home. I think we can look forward with optimism to bringing a lot of people around the slogan, bring the troops home. So that is my answer to your dilemma.



RAPOPORT: You might not have been able to grasp what I said before. By all means do what you must. And my only advice to you is, that you not do it alone, MRS \_\_\_\_\_, this is the least effective way of protesting. Have some kind of an organized program, first. And second, you said it very well, people should be embracing each other instead they were at each others throats. See to it that you do not in your effort belittle the others \_\_\_\_\_. But by all means, do it. Because in order to do the pragmatic and the politically expedient thing, I think one of the best sports(ph) is the fun of ever loving.

APTHEKER: I'm afraid, PROFESSOR RAPOPORT, I agree again. (Laughter) I do want to say that the source of my optimism is not that of MR JONES. MR JONES is optimistic because he is sure that things are going to get much worse. He is optimistic because he is sure there will be 400 thousand troops, he is optimistic because if there are 400 thousand troops, there will be a lot more people killed. Going to have higher taxes. That is not what I'm talking about in optimism. That is not my road and I advocate that I want in terms of radicalization. No, you fight not only against the 200 thousand, you fight to get them all home. Now, on the specific dilemma, that you raised. I think a very real one. I said already I agreed with PROF RAPOPORT. I perhaps would add, this, ah, there is not necessarily a contradiction. For example, I believe that the struggle against JIM CROW is one of the central elements in the struggle for socialism. That is my opinion. Somebody else may not think so, and I may be wrong and it won't be the first time. Alright, suppose I'm wrong but will you struggle with me against JIM CROW? And you think that that struggle will not lead to Socialism. You may not even want Socialism. Okay, prove me wrong, please; but we will fight together against Socialism, against JIM CROWISM. (laughter) We will fight together against Jim Crow and then we will see if it leads to socialism. And we will fight for a more effective trade union, because I think that that is part of the way toward socialism; you don't believe(all ph). Lets nevertheless add a more effective class conscious note, and so on and so forth. I think the same thing is true with the peace movement. I believe the struggle for peace is an anti, inferring the struggle. I think the struggle itself, is a profound radical one, the most radical one that exists in the United States, which is the heart of Imperialism. And, therefore, I want to broaden it, with the kind of involvement, on any level inthat struggle and I myself have my own method. I myself see it from a long time period of time through Marxism time, and so on. And PROFESSOR RAPOPORT, I think, is altogether correct that this component to the left, is a very important thing in the whole coalition. Alright, but let it be a coalition. And let the tactic be broad. That doesn't mean that you hide what you say. You hide it, its not in coalition, but that you are fraternal and you are considerate and you do finally come to a vote and decide, and I would think, what exactly what you want. Okay, let us contribute to the peace movement, if you have a right to speak and if you are true of persuasion, so they'll come around to what you want.

APTHEKER: So, I don't, the point I'm making, that I think there is a relief in the dilemma, if its used, so to speak, emotionally and psychologically, in your own temperment in those terms. Don't hide, of course, how you feel. But at the same time insist upon cooperation with others and don't feel that way. You may be right, maybe partially right. But as you said, embrace with them on what they can agree upon. I know I've spoken long. I just want to make one more little point of a historic nature. I mentioned the anti-slavery movement and the divisions and how that hurt and so on and that nobody but historians remember the reasons, well that is true, but think further. One of the bitterest things was that there should not be Sunday ma-il or should there be Sunday mail. One element in the anti-slavery movement says there should be Sunday mail, mail delivery. One said there should not be. Why? Why is there not delivery on Sunday? Its because of religion. How can you have separation of church and state, really, if the state doesn't deliver the mail on Sunday. (laughter) If there must be one day they don't deliver mail let it be Monday. (laughter) Not the christian holiday of Sunday. Now this is funny, but I'm telling you people, we're tearing each other apart. Sunday mail or no Sunday mail, that is a fact. Alright we're distant and the solution of this question, in terms(ph), and so on and so on. We can't be prospective(ph), but , perhaps, perhaps we can learn a little in this way, maybe not the deepest kind of experience but my profession in history, and I'd like to think that it is useful. So, I'm just telling you that, that happened. And can't we learn from that, in terms of differences in the peace movement. That I think, a hundred years from now, ifwe all survive and if we do, presumably we will have had a peace movement; will look a little sillyto us. Like Sunday mail. Can we get that temperment? Can we make ourselves have that temperment, in the service of peace? I think we have to. I'm not urging that we should do so and embrace. (applause)

LINDA BELISLE: Indistinct

LEW JONES: I just want to clear up another misunderstanding, which I hope was not intentional. That is, I did not say that things were bad and therefore were going to get worse and therefore we should be optimistic. I simply said, that there are conditions in front of us over which we have no control, so lets see what they are going to look like and then from there what do we advocate to get people around it; in the circumstances. What in those circumstances should be the best thing for us to do? And as I think, I think we can advocate a thing that should pull them because that would be these same little appeals to people. So what, on the basis of pessimism, things are getting worse and therefore we are going to get better. I think, that it stems from the fact that people are going to rise up against this war, they are not going to like it, they are going to join in this movement to end the war. And sooner or later we'll have that movement so large that we'll get those 400 thousand troops home or those 200 thousand troops, whatever number it is, and we'll end this war once and for all and bring true justice to the Vietnamese people.

UNID MALE directs question which is indistinct on China and MAO TSE TUNG to APTHEKER

APTHEKER: No, I think what has been stated and what has been interpreted here are two different things. If one reads his works (MAO TSE TUNG?) one will not find quite what you have indicated. I know no evidence, nothing nearly comparable to the overwhelming evidence in terms of the United States; relative to China and Viet Nam. None. And I do know that the DRV is very jealous of its independence. Very jealous of its independence. And so is the NFL and each is independent to a great degree of each other. and the DRV is not about to permit itself to become subordinate to China or the Soviet Union, or to the United States. I know of no evidence that China and the Soviet Union seeks subordination but I see overwhelming evidence that the United States does. (Unid male in background is indistinct) Well, I'm just telling you what I see, that is my opinion and I'm giving it to you. Now, I think. I think that since you also have my opinion, I think that there is a left interim(ph) on the Central Committee or at best a majority of the Communist Party of China, I think it is the classical kind of leftism that LENIN analyzes(ph) and I think that this can lead to a kind of adventureism which isn't in any way comparable to Imperialism; but it can lead to a kind of adventureism and there is some evidence from the mouths, for example of FIDEL CASTRO and less persuasive evidence in terms of Indonesia, although pretty good evidence. That such disastrous leftist adventureists courses seem to have been attacked(ph) and I would in no way acquaint this with Imperialism, myself.

UNID FEMALE in background talks very fast and is hard to understand

LINDA BELISLE asks UF if she has a question to which UF continues in her fast manner.

UNID MALE then directs a question to APTHEKER, which is indistinct

APTHEKER: Having ideals and being idealistic is not quite the same thing, in the first place. In the second place, I emphasized, I thought I emphasized the material interests. For instance I said that without independence, one of the things that struck me most there, was the experiences I didn't understand. I think I understand now, is the real meaning of independence and its not just an ideal. And what I emphasized in my talk was that without independence those people have learned that there is no existence. And when they didn't have independence, as over the French, they didn't exist. And I gave you the example of one year in which two million starved to death. There are over 30 million people altogether. So that when they are fighting for independence, I didn't mean to convey the idea that this was some sort of an abstraction, and that philosophically they were idealists. Or that this was simply an ultraism(ph). It isn't at all. It is of deepest involvement and concern it is a matter of life and death. The other thing is that these are by no means all Communists. This is the entire nation spurring(ph) action

APTHEKER: in the movement and the NFL is a very broad movement; involving whole stratas of the population. So lets not the Communist get all the credit for this and no matter how fantastic you seem to think. We are, we are in it. And the NFL could not be successfully withstanding the military power of the United States and 200 thousand troops, if it did not involve practically the entire population. And most of it is not really politics.

HERBERT APTHEKER: They haven't done so because they feel that they are not just sufficiently broad. They want to encompass all segments of the population, including those in Saigon, and since they do not yet encompass all this they do not wish to set themselves up as a government; although, as the New York Times and everybody else says, they had more than half the population, taxes, schools, land reforms, and so forth. And this is relevant to this because their program calls for, one of their five points, is a broad national coalition neutral non-socialist government in the prolonged interim period; that is, their rprogram, of the NFL. I repeat again that the NFL is not simply a Communist movement, it is Communist under the name invented by DNIEM(ph), but if anyone here thinks that it is duped with Communists, like we have a score, you know. The press says 150 Communists killed, 260 Communists killed, hooray for us. Well they are 250 peasants who have been killed, some of whom may be Communists and most of whom, I can assure you are not Communists. In the program of the NFL, they also specifically talk of uniting, in this government, not only all strata, but those in the successive Saigon Administrations, this is specifically stated, who are repentant, who are repentant. And so I said, well now what's that. Well, they said those who come to the conclusion that they are serving the United States, being part of the Saigon snoopers(ph) role, and this has to be terminated. And only one thing, that is the national independence of Viet Nam, they say that, and that's it. Now they will say no more to you, no more. That is one phase of \_\_\_\_\_. The second one is, that I just suggest to you that this concern over people not being killed, is to speak mildly, ironic. In terms of our daily slaughter of thousands and thousands of people. If this is our concern, let's stop killing people.

I mean even if the idea is that we don't want executions, and so on okay, if that's the problem let's talk about that in terms of how we are assured that there are no executions; but since we are motivated by a desire that people not be killed, let's stop killing people and at the same time figure out how best we can assure that there is not mass executions. (Background voice is indistinct). Well alright, I don't know how. I don't know how. When it is not my responsibility. I'm not in Saigon, I'm not in Hanoi. There is no evidence of a \_\_\_\_\_ for such mass executions. There is an International Control Commission, both that the Army and NFL warned(ph) Geneva and that provides for an International Control Commission to supervise an election. Why can't they not supervise to see that there are not such executions? Surely, that is easier than supervising an election, and the DRV and the NFL says that they want the ICC in control, they won(ph) at Geneva. Okay, let's do that, perhaps, but at any rate let's we discuss what we do. But meanwhile since the motivation of your questions is, that people are being killed, let's stop killing people we must, okay, I think so.

Q: UNID MALE in background, I'd like to ask MR APTHEKER, if he foresees the possibility of a violent American Revolution in the near-future? (Laughter in the audience)

APTHEKER: No, short of a war on American soil, I do not foresee any such possibility.

Q: UNID MALE in background is indistinct, but audience applauds and laughs.

APTHEKER: I don't know what this does to the Professor, and this is a little unusual for me in the United States. I mean this kind of full report on me. (Audience laughs) \_\_\_\_\_. Ah, but I just note something there in terms of violent revolution, and I think that there is a certain assumption of may necessary identity, that is, if it isn't violent it isn't a revolution. This is quite possibly true. And the definition of revolution, in no way necessitates violence, in no way. And one may have a violent revolution as in Algeria, which of course the violence came from the reactionaries in those \_\_\_\_\_. Or what they have in non violent form, like in Ghana. In which the Prime Minister of the new Republic was taken out of jail, there was no violence, and he was sworn in as Prime Minister in his prison garb. I think that is the first time in history. Now when he appears at state functions, his state function dress is his prison garb. But that is nonviolent, so I just wanted to add that note and then I agree with PROFESSOR RAPOPORT, that if it comes to violence, to civil war, significant violence; that, I think would be consequence of catastrophic experiences and developments, such as, possibly a war but I don't see that as necessarily the only way to revolutionizing of this society. And I suggest that there are other ways, of doing so, much violence. Well not necessarily violent. Now you see that open, and anyone who closes it, I think is wrong and also silly, both.

Q: UNID MALE directs a question to DR APTHEKER. I admire your objectivity in your approach tonight and I would if it would be possible, that you could answer me a personal question. Why is it that you haven't immigrated to the Soviet Union, being you, \_\_\_\_\_? APTHEKER is heard to say, if that question is mine, I'd like to answer it. (Applause).

APTUEKER: I mean, I thought that this was a very serious and perfectly straight forward question without bringing insult or injury to \_\_\_\_\_. And by the way I have been insulted very much and answer two questions. (Mixed conversation - indistinct)

APTUEKER: I don't know how I gave you the impression that I might want to migrate. When I'm away from here, from the United States, I'm very unhappy. I miss, this country. In fact, I can get terribly schmalzy(ph) about it, and I don't want to, really, but its true, I miss it greatly, I love it here. This is home where I was born, my kids are here, my wife is here, I've been very happy generally, in my relationships. I love my mother, I love my father. (audience laughs). I don't know how I became a RED. (Laughter and tremendous applause by audience). No apologies! My wife is very happy. I can't wait to get up in the morning, I can't wait to get up. I would not change positions with anybody, not even PROFESSOR RAPOPORT, (laughter), nobody. So this is it and this is where I am. And in terms of being a radical, this kind of question was asked, for instance, of GARRISON(ph), He kept going back and forth to England, why don't you stay in England you love it so much over there. They were abolishing the slavery in the West Indies, they give you a lot of money; and they did you know and he was held to be an agent of QUEEN VICTORIA, he probably was. At least there is no evidence anymore. And all his papers are open. He was just a radical here, who believed that there should be a fundamental change. That is what I think, here. I'm not talking about Russia, at all and when we have Socialism here, it will be ours. We'll have it because most American poeple want it, and want it passionately. Want it so passionately that it can't be held away from us. If that is not true, we'll never have Socialism here. I think it will be true in time and when we have it, it is going to be a beaut. I have got to show you the statement, you can make the most of it you want. But when we have it, with our technique, our capacity, our energy, our ingenuity, and when we get rid of this festering(ph) kind of moral base of Capitalism, and so on. It is going to be one helluva country, you know it. So, I'm anxious to bring him(ph) by. I can taste it. That is why I (applause) it.

Q: UNID MALE directs question(which is indistinct) to PROFESSOR RAPOPORT.

RAPOPORT: I honestly do not know. I don't know what China would do. It is certainly not out of the question. The only historical experience we have is Korea, when China felt herself threatened by the approaching American troops on the Chinese border and it

looked as if these troops would cross the border. (blank) crossing the border and China entered the war with disastrous consequences for the United States. It might have been highly probable since it strictly was not secret authority on this subject, not knowing what the Chinese tragedy is or what was in the minds of the Chinese leaders.

APTHEKER: Once again my view is substantially that. I would add this, if I may. And that is that the Chinese realized unless the DRV says do something. This was an important point and the DRV, I repeat is very jealous of their sovereignty and their independence, that is the whole point of the battle. And I repeat it, the Chinese or anybody else. By the way they have 160 million volunteers, the DRV. This 160 million is quite a strategic reserve and they are not by all means Chinese. There is none to spare because they have not been asked. Now, they are not anxious to ask, because that means general war in escalation and such devastation will happen in their country. They don't want that. That is the only thing that I would add. If and when the Chinese come in, one reason will be, of course; Chinese ideas, consideration, interest, what they think is necessary and son on. But you may be sure that the DRV will say please come in and help us now. Otherwise, they won't come in, nor will anybody else.

UNID FEMALE in background is heard to mention PROFESSOR ANATOLE RAPOPORT and HERBERT APTHEKER's name. (Audience applause)



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

SUBJECT: STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND—  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO  
NORTH VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Mohr

DATE: 4/5/66

1 - Mr. Wick  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. Franck  
1 - Mr. Reddy

Tolson ☒  
DeLoach ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Casper ☒  
Callahan ☒  
Conrad ☒  
Felt ☒  
Gale ☒  
Rosen ☒  
Sullivan ☒  
Tavel ☒  
Trotter ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Holmes ☒  
Gandy ☒

My memorandum dated March 24, 1966, advised that Staughton Craig Lynd, the Yale University professor who recently returned from unauthorized and illegal travel to Communist China and North Vietnam, together with Herbert Eugene Aptheker and Thomas Hayden, and whose passport was "tentatively withdrawn" by the State Department on 2/2/66, had initiated civil action against the Secretary of State in the United States District Court, Washington, D. C. This action sought to enjoin the Secretary of State from enforcing the withdrawal of Lynd's passport and to obtain an order directing the Secretary of State to allow Lynd to travel during the period from 4/7/66 to 4/18/66 so that he may handle scheduled speaking engagements in London, England and Oslo, Norway.

Department Attorney Benjamin Flanagan advised today that on Wednesday, 3/30/66, the hearing on Lynd's petition was held before U.S. District Judge Oliver Gasch. Judge Gasch ruled that Lynd should first exhaust his administrative remedy in objection to the withdrawal of his passport through a hearing before a State Department hearing officer and an appeal from a possible adverse ruling to the Board of Passport Appeals. Judge Gasch ordered the State Department to complete this administrative procedure and to reach a decision not later than 4/6/66.

Department Attorney Flanagan said that Lynd was afforded a hearing before a State Department hearing officer on 4/1/66 at which time he was advised that the withdrawal of his passport would be cancelled if he would promise not to violate State Department travel restrictions for the entire period during which his passport will be valid. Lynd's reply was that while he would promise not to violate travel restrictions in connection with his trip to England and Norway, he would not promise that he would abide by such restrictions for the duration of the

EBR:jas (8)

CONTINUED OVER  
NOT RECORDED

23 DEC 1 1967

APR 19 1966

DEC 5 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-396716-95

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: STAUGHTON LYND

validity of his passport. The State Department hearing officer then ruled against Lynd and the case was considered on 4/4/66 by the Board of Passport Appeals. The decision of this Board, which must be approved by the Secretary of State, is to be rendered today and will be made available to Judge Gasch tomorrow by Department Attorney Flanagan.

Flanagan said that the Department of Justice will take the position that even if Lynd agrees not to violate travel restrictions for the duration of the validity of his passport, the withdrawal should not be cancelled since Lynd has established through an earlier violation of these restrictions that he is not credible. Flanagan noted, however, that if the Board of Passport Appeals and the Secretary of State overrule the hearing officer or if Lynd agrees not to violate travel restrictions during the entire period of the validity of his passport, Judge Gasch will probably go along with the State Department and order the withdrawal of Lynd's passport cancelled.

ACTION:

For information. You will be advised of the finding of the Secretary of State and the ruling of Judge Gasch in this matter.

*WBN*

ADDENDUM BY THE INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION: EBR:jas 4/5/66

At 4:15 p.m., today, Department Attorney Flanagan advised that he had just ascertained that while the Board of Passport Appeals and the Secretary of State had held that the withdrawal of Lynd's passport should not be cancelled, the State Department will issue Lynd "limited travel documents" for his trip to England and Norway during the period from April 7 - 18, 1966, on the assurance that Lynd will not attempt to violate State Department travel restrictions in connection with this trip. According to Flanagan, the only salutary effect of this ruling by the Department of State is that whenever Lynd desires to engage in foreign travel in the future, he must apply for "limited travel documents" and must assure the Department of State that he will not violate travel restrictions. Flanagan is of the opinion that Judge Gasch will approve this action by the Department of State when he is advised tomorrow.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9-19-2000 BY 60267NLS/EP106

ENCLOSURE

62-171917-54

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

DATE: 5/13/66

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER;  
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND;  
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN;  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM;  
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT;  
LOGAN ACT

ReBulet to NY, dated 4/7/66.

Enclosed for the Bureau are two (2) copies, as instructed, of "Mission to Hanoi", a paperback written by HERBERT APTHEKER, with prefaces by STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN.

*International Publishers  
New York, N.Y.*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9-19-2000 BY 60267 NLS/EP/100

REC-42

3 MAY 16 1966

"ENCLOSURE ATTACHED"

ENCLOSURE

EX-108

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 1 - New Haven (100-18293) (STAUGHTON LYND) (RM)
- 1 - Newark (100-40690) (THOMAS HAYDEN) (RM)
- 1 - New York

VJA:ats  
(5)

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1 MAY 31 1966

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2/2/68

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To: SACs Newark (Enclosures - 2)  
New York  
Chicago

From: Director, FBI (100-438281)

THOMAS ENNETT HAYDEN  
SECURITY MATTER - SDS (KEY ACTIVIST)

JUNE

8/31/76  
b3  
b7E

~~NY, NY, CG - advised  
to Review by R/S  
8/30/76 DH/TK~~

Enclosed for the information of Newark Office is a copy of New Orleans airtel with ~~the~~ enclosure, both dated 1/24/68. Reference is made to Bureau airtel dated 1/30/68 captioned "Investigation of the New Left (Key Activists)," two copies of which were furnished the recipients of this letter. U

REC 48 100-438281-57

New Orleans LHM dated 1/24/68 sets forth considerable data from the effects of Hayden showing his contacts with relatives of prisoners of war in North Vietnam. As your offices are aware, Hayden was recently instrumental in handling the release of three prisoners of war from the North Vietnamese, and apparently through his contacts with individuals in North Vietnam has brought mail to and from these prisoners and will in all probability, with others such as David Dellinger, continue to maintain close contact with officials in that country. U

6 FEB 7 1968

Furthermore, as Hayden is one of the Key Activists in the new left movement, he undoubtedly will be one of the leading spokesmen in a proposed massive confrontation by new left forces with the Democratic National Convention to be held in Chicago this summer. U

[REDACTED]

WNP:cds (12)

EBI - 702:ICE  
REC'D - 20:11AM

FEB 5 3 06 PM '68

CLASSIFIED BY 4417  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
7-20-76  
6TH

CONFIDENTIAL

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

219 1968  
932-D

MAILED 4  
FEB 2 1968  
COMM-FBI

Tolson  
DeLoach  
Mohr  
Bishop  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

b3  
b7E

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Airtel to SACs Newark  
RE: THOMAS ENNETT HAYDEN

As pointed out in referenced Bureau airtel, high-level informant coverage must be maintained on Key Activists so that the Bureau is kept abreast of their day-to-day activities, as well as the organizations they are affiliated with, to develop information regarding their sources of funds, foreign contacts, and future plans. U

It is noted that much of the activity concerning the matter of Hayden's and Dellinger's contacts with the North Vietnamese and prisoners of war is through Liberation Magazine, 5 Beekman Street, New York City, of which Dellinger is editor and Hayden is associate editor. Other individuals connected with this publication have also been in contact with individuals in North Vietnam as well as being instrumental in a leadership capacity in various anti-Vietnam activities in this country. U

The Bureau feels that to insure full and effective coverage of Hayden and other Key Activists such as Dellinger and the activities they are engaged in, consideration should be given to placing a technical surveillance on Liberation Magazine. New York is therefore authorized to conduct a survey to determine the feasibility of such a surveillance, provided full security is assured. U

The Bureau should be advised of the results of this survey together with New York's recommendation. Provided the overall needs of the Bureau do not preclude installation of this technical surveillance at the time of New York's recommendation, consideration will be given to authorizing this installation. U

Although Newark is office of origin in this case because of the prominence of Hayden's activities, New York and Chicago should remain particularly alert for any pertinent data concerning his activities and when he is in the New York and Chicago areas steps should be initiated to closely follow his activities. U

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2/12/68

1 - Mr. Preusse

Airtel

To: SAC, New York (100-128968)

From: Director, FBI

JUNE

"LIBERATION" MAGAZINE

b3  
b7E

Reurairtel dated 2/7/68 concerning Thomas Emmett Hayden wherein you advised that a tesur survey of "Liberation" magazine indicates that coverage of it is feasible with full security assured.

You also state in reairtel that the telephone subscription for captioned subject at "Liberation" magazine carries three different phone numbers. It is not clear whether the subscription to these three phone numbers is for Hayden or for "Liberation" magazine, and you should so advise.

By return airtel, you are to submit, as an enclosure, a copy of FD-142 which will set forth pertinent details concerning the results of this survey in connection with the installation of a tesur on "Liberation" magazine. You are also to furnish your observations regarding the potential productivity and intelligence value of this tesur as well as the possible adverse affects it could have on other investigations such as draft resistance activities on the part of members of its editorial staff.

WNP:jav

(5)

1 - 100-438281 (Hayden)

100-438281  
NOT RECORDED  
199 FEB 14 1968

CONFIDENTIAL

6: FEB 16 1968



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Date: 2/7/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438281) JUNE  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-148904)  
SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN  
SM - SDS (KEY ACTIVIST)

Re Bureau airtel dated 2/2/68.U

The results of Tesur Survey requested by referenced airtel indicates coverage feasible with full security assured. Subscription for captined subject at Liberation Magazine carries telephone numbers 267-1468, 267-1453 and CO 7-3261, all located at 3 - 5 Beekman Street, New York City. Bureau authority is requested to install. [Leased line letter requested to show from 3 - 5 Beekman Street to 201 East 69th Street, New York, New York.] ~~DC~~ U

IN COPY FILED IN

b3  
b7E

- 3-Bureau (RM)
- 1-Newark (RM)
- 1-New York

HPB:tmm  
(6)

REC 37 100-438281-60

19  
5 FEB 8 1968

*Circuit NY  
re "Liberation"  
7-12-68  
WNP/jaw*

*C.C. - Bishop*

CLASSIFIED BY 4417  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
7-20-76 *gil*

*INT. SEC.  
SPEC. INQ.*

FEB 14 1968

Approved: *[Signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438281)

DATE: 2/14/68 *CD*

FROM : *PAB/om* SAC, NEWARK (100-48095)

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN  
SM - SDS (KEY ACTIVIST)

*Handwritten signature*  
JUNE

ReBuairtels dated 1/30/68 and 2/1/68 in the matter entitled "INVESTIGATION OF THE NEW LEFT (KEY ACTIVISTS)"; Buairtel dated 2/2/68 and New York airtel dated 2/7/68 in captioned matter; and New York airtel dated 2/8/68 in matter entitled "LIBERATION MAGAZINE, INFORMATION CONCERNING (IS)."

## RESIDENCE

Until 1/3/68, when he departed to attend the Cultural Conference in Cuba, HAYDEN resided at 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, with CONSTANCE BROWN, also white, a [redacted]

[redacted] Upon his return to the New Jersey area on 1/25/68, he took up residence at 631 Hunterdon Street, Newark, New Jersey, with CONSTANCE BROWN.

[redacted] who is under consideration for development as a ghetto informant, advised on 2/12/68 that he is in an excellent position to observe any activity which might occur at 631 Hunterdon Street, Newark, New Jersey, and he has promised complete cooperation in this matter.

## EMPLOYMENT

HAYDEN is variously described in the press and by informants as a journalist, lecturer, author, representative of the peace movement, a framer of the Port Huron Statement and a founder of SDS, head of the Newark Community Union Project (a neighborhood project of SDS in Newark), and an associate editor of "Liberation."

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York (100-148904) (RM)  
1 - Newark  
BJC:aas  
(4)

EX-110  
REC. AS

100-438281-61

FEB 15 1968

23

CC 932 D



FEB 28 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

INT. SEC. 100  
SPEC. 100  
APRIL RM.

NK 100-48095

Most recently, his name has been associated with peace groups and "Liberation" magazine. According to [redacted] he maintains his office out of "Liberation" magazine office, 5 Beekman Street, New York City, with DAVID DELLINGER.

b7D

### ACTIVITIES

HAYDEN was one of the original initiators of STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS). He came to Newark, New Jersey, in 1964 as the leader of the Newark Community Union Project (NCUP), an organization which was formed by SDS and which operated in the Clinton Hill section of Newark among the poor. In December, 1965, and January, 1966, he made an unauthorized trip to North Vietnam with STAUGHTON LYND, an assistant professor at Yale, and HERBERT APTHEKER, of the CPUSA.

In September, 1967, he was one of 41 Americans who attended a conference in Czechoslovakia with representatives of the North Vietnamese and also Viet Cong representatives. He did not return home upon the completion of this conference but instead traveled to Cambodia, and then it was announced in November, 1967, that he was returning to the United States and with him were three U. S. Army Sergeants who had been prisoners of war and were released by the Viet Cong to HAYDEN.

More recently, 1/4-11/68, HAYDEN attended the Cultural Conference in Havana, Cuba. Initially, he encountered some difficulty with the State Department in seeking a passport since his previous passport had been withdrawn based on information he had traveled to North Vietnam in violation of restrictions. In seeking his passport in December, 1967, for travel to Cuba, he communicated with W. AVERELL HARRIMAN, Ambassador-at-Large, who stated that he felt HAYDEN would qualify as a journalist since he represents "Liberation" magazine. While Passport Office was opposed to giving him this passport, it did, however, grant HAYDEN a passport when he agreed to certain restrictions.

Since HAYDEN's return to the United States, he has addressed the SDS chapter at Rutgers University, Newark, New Jersey, on 2/5/68.

### FUNDS

Captain CHARLES KINNEY, Newark Police Department, advised on 2/5/68 that HAYDEN is not known to have a bank account in the Newark area.

NK 100-48095

In view of close relationship of HAYDEN to CONSTANCE BROWN, it was felt desirable to make a check of her bank account which she maintains with the National Newark and Essex Bank, Newark, New Jersey. Arrangements are effected to monitor this on a monthly basis.

TELEPHONE

[ ] advised on 2/5/68 and on 2/7/68 that there was no telephone service either in HAYDEN's or BROWN's name at 227 Jelliff Avenue or 631 Hunterdon Street, Newark, New Jersey. This same source advised on 2/7/68 that there is no phone service at 631 Hunterdon Street, Newark, New Jersey.

b7D

[ ] advised, as mentioned above, that HAYDEN, along with DAVE DELLINGER, maintains his office at "Liberation" magazine, 5 Beekman Street, New York City, [and request has been made of the Bureau by New York Office to consider technical surveillance at "Liberation" to effect coverage of DELLINGER and HAYDEN.]

b7D

\* \* \* \* \*

Concerning his residences 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, and 631 Hunterdon Street, Newark, New Jersey, it is to be noted that both of these neighborhoods are almost entirely Negro and are in the ghetto area of Newark, which was the scene of Newark riot of July, 1967. Prolonged surveillances of his present residence is not feasible, and at the most only spot checks at various hours is all that can be discreetly and safely conducted.

HAYDEN, because of his past activities as a leader of a community project among the poor in this area, is especially well known, and it is logical that any prolonged surveillance could come to his attention. With his access to the media of press, radio, and television, it is possible he might use any such surveillance to the embarrassment of the Bureau.

The Newark Police Department in their investigation of the causes leading up to, and the results of the Newark riot of July, 1967, have expressed their interest in TOM HAYDEN since they consider him to be an associate of, and acquainted with, many individuals whom they know to have been active participants

in protests in Newark prior to the Newark riot of July, 1967. The Newark Police Department point out that the issues of condemning land in the Negro area of Newark for a proposed medical college and the proposed appointment of a white man as Secretary to the Board of Education as opposed to a Negro resulted in many disturbances at official meetings of City Boards and generated much racial unrest and ill feeling. According to the Newark Police Department, the leaders in these demonstrations at city meetings were all friendly with TOM HAYDEN, and the Police Department considers him part of the overall group that aroused the Negro people on these issues.

Because of the above, the Newark Police attempt to cover the activities of HAYDEN whenever possible. They, too, have related that any attempt to run full, discreet surveillances in this area would prove fruitless because of the suspicions that residents of this area have in any outsiders. No specific requests have been made of the Newark Police Department, but Captain CHARLES KINNEY, mentioned previously, has offered to furnish the Newark Office of the FBI any information which he develops.

Newark will await the results of recommendations of the New York Office concerning technical coverage on "Liberation" magazine which would serve as a means of covering HAYDEN's activities and plans in connection with the peace movement and possible disruption of the National Convention to be held in Chicago, Illinois. Further, Newark will continue its efforts to locate a bank account for HAYDEN in New Jersey to possibly establish his source of funds. Newark will also augment the coverage supplied by the neighborhood source with spot fisurs in the neighborhood. Newark will also maintain close liaison with the Newark Police, in view of their continuing interest in HAYDEN, to determine any information they might have on his activities, plans, or travel.

Newark is contemplating the possible use of counter-intelligence methods against HAYDEN in order to neutralize his effectiveness. It is understood that no such measures would be taken until such recommendations are submitted in full to the Bureau and authorization received.

1/11/66

Airtel

1 - Bland  
1 - Reddy

To: SAC, New York

From: Director, FBI (100-123974)

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON LYND  
THOMAS HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM  
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT  
LOGAN ACT  
CONSPIRACY

b6 per CBP  
b7C  
b7E

ReButelcall to Special Agent (SA) Warren Marchessault,  
1/10/66, relaying instructions from the Department that the follow-  
ing investigation be immediately conducted in the captioned matter:

- (1) Interview Customs and Immigration and Naturalization  
Service personnel who processed the re-entry of

[redacted] and Hayden, [redacted]  
[redacted]

- (2) Interview representatives of the press, radio and  
television who interviewed Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden  
at Kennedy International Airport and ascertain any  
admissions made regarding their travel to  
North Vietnam. The willingness of representatives  
of the news media to testify should be ascertained  
and they should be requested to retain handwritten  
notes, as well as any audio or audio-video tapes of the  
interviews.

b7E per CBP

- (3) Contact the appropriate official of the United States  
Customs Service in New York City and [redacted]  
[redacted]

EBR:pah  
(7)

1 - 100-396916 (Lynd)  
① - 100-438281 (Hayden)

NOT RECORDED  
163 JAN 13 1966

EX-108 (SEE NOTE PAGE 2)  
EX-108

JAN 14 1966

Airtel to New York  
Re: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER  
STAUGHTON LYND  
THOMAS HAYDEN  
100-123974

b7E per CBP

by Customs. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Hayden will  
undoubtedly demand the return of this material.

SA Marchessault was instructed that interview report forms be prepared where appropriate and that the Bureau should be advised of the nature of the tape recordings in the possession of Customs so that a decision can be obtained from the Department as to whether verbatim transcripts should be prepared from the copies obtained by the New York Office.

Instructions were also furnished SA Marchessault that arrangements should be made to have panel sources attend the meeting which is scheduled to be held on Sunday, 1/16/66, at Manhattan Center, New York City, at which Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden are scheduled to speak on their trip to North Vietnam.

The above instructions are being confirmed by letter from the Department and copies of this letter will be furnished your office. The Department is also requesting, by separate letter, investigation to establish the itinerary of Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden and their specific intent, at the time they left the United States, to proceed to North Vietnam. Copies of this latter letter will also be furnished your office in the immediate future with appropriate instructions and comments.

Since this case is receiving extensive press coverage and is of primary interest to the Administration, the investigation should be *handled* expeditiously and thoroughly.

NOTE:

Memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, 1/10/66, advised that the above instructions had been telephonically furnished the New York Office and that a confirming airtel would be sent to New York.

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

January 10, 1966

F. J. Baumgardner

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER;  
STAUGHTON LYND;  
THOMAS HAYDEN  
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM;  
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT;  
LOGAN ACT;  
CONSPIRACY

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. Wick  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. Bartlett  
1 - Mr. Reddy

My memorandum dated January 3, 1966, set out information regarding the unauthorized travel to North Vietnam by the captioned individuals and indicated that the Internal Security Division of the Department had been in contact with the Department of State with reference to possible prosecution under the Logan Act or under statutes which proscribe misuse of United States passports and travel to countries to which travel is forbidden by the Secretary of State.

On January 9, 1966, Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden returned to the United States, arriving Kennedy International Airport via Pan American Airways. This information was furnished to Department Attorney James Welden on the morning of January 10, 1966.

This afternoon Department Attorney John Davitt telephonically advised that a letter was en route to the Bureau from the Department requesting that the Bureau initiate investigation to establish that Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden intended to travel to North Vietnam at the time they left the United States on December 19, 1965. Davitt said that now that these individuals had actually returned to the United States, he was requesting the Bureau to immediately take the following action:

- (1) Interview Customs and INS personnel who processed the re-entry of [ ] and Hayden, with [ ] on any admissions these individuals may have made that they had been in North Vietnam.
- (2) Interview representatives of the press, radio and television who interviewed Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden at Kennedy International Airport and ascertain any

100-123974

1 - 100-396916 (Lynd)  
1 - 100-438281 (Hayden)  
EBR/pcn  
(11)

NOT RECORDED

87 JAN 13 1966

CONTINUED

OVER

ORIGINAL FILED IN



Memorandum F. J. Baumgardner to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
Re: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER;  
STAUGHTON LYND;  
THOMAS HAYDEN  
100-123974

admissions made regarding their travel to North Vietnam. Davitt requested that the willingness of representatives of the news media to testify be ascertained and they should be requested to retain handwritten notes, as well as any audio or audio-video tapes of the interviews.

(3) Contact the appropriate official of the United States Customs Service in New York City and

[redacted]  
taken from Hayden by Customs. [redacted]

b6 per CBP

b7C

[redacted] taken from  
Hayden. [redacted]

b7E

[redacted] Hayden

will undoubtedly demand the return of this material.

Davitt said that a letter requesting the above investigation would be immediately prepared by the Department and transmitted to the Bureau.

At 4:15 p.m. Supervisor Warren Marchessault of the New York Office was telephonically instructed to immediately carry out the Department's instructions with reference to the three items listed above. He was instructed to prepare interview report forms where appropriate and to advise the Bureau of the nature of the tape recordings seized from Hayden before beginning to prepare verbatim transcripts. It is contemplated that [redacted]

b7E per CBP

Marchessault was also instructed to have sources of the New York Office attend the meeting which is scheduled to be held on Sunday, January 16, 1966, at Manhattan Center, New York City, at which Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden are scheduled to comment on the results of their travel to North Vietnam.

ACTION:

For information. The telephonic instructions to New York set out above are being confirmed by airtel and copies of the letters from the Department will be furnished the New York Office upon their receipt at the Bureau.

1/12/66

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APPIEKER  
IS-C; ISA-50

STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND  
SI-C

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN  
SM-C

b6 per CBP  
b7C  
b7E

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are [redacted] which are the property of THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN and which were detained by U.S. Custom officials on HAYDEN's arrival at the Port of New York, on 1/9/66, on his return trip from Hanoi, North Vietnam.

- ⑤ Bureau (100-123974) (Encls. 5) (RM)  
① - 100- [redacted] (STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND)  
① - 100- [redacted] (THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN)  
1 - Newark (100-48095) (THOMAS HAYDEN) (Info) (RM)  
1 - New Haven (100-13293) (STAUGHTON LYND) (Info) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-110521) (STAUGHTON LYND) (43)  
1 - New York (100-143904) (THOMAS HAYDEN) (43)  
1 - New York (100-154735) (VIDER) (43)  
1 - New York (100-80532) (42)

JDB:grd  
(12)

100-438281-  
NOT RECORDED  
183 JAN 19 1966

51 JAN 24 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN

NY 100-80532

b7E per CBP

The personnel of the NYO who participated in the duplication of the tape recordings are SAS JOHN J. DUNLEAVY and JAMES D. BRODY, and EMTs PAUL FIELDS and ROBERT DIXON.

Enclosed under separate cover are Xerox copies of seven statements which were in possession of HAYDEN and also by U.S. Customs on 1/9/66.

b6 per CBP  
b7C

[redacted] stated that the originals of the above material would be returned by U.S. Customs to HAYDEN.

F B I

Date: 1/13/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER  
IS-C; ISA-50

STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND  
SM-C

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN  
SM-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are Xerox copies of seven statements which are the property of THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN and which were detained by U.S. Customs officials on HAYDEN's arrival at the Port of New York on 1/9/66, on his return trip from Hanoi, North Vietnam.

These statements are identified as follows:

- "1. By the Democratic Republic of  
Vietnam State Committee of Science  
and Technology on the Use of Toxic  
Chemicals and Poison Gas by the  
Aggressive US Imperialists in South  
Vietnam.

Hanoi 10/20/65

- 5-Bureau (100-123974) (Encl. 7) (RM)  
(1-100- ) (STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND)  
(1-100- ) (THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN)  
1-Newark (100-48095) (THOMAS HAYDEN) (Info) (Encl. 1) (RM)  
1-New Haven (100-18293) (STAUGHTON LYND) (Info) (RM)  
1-NY (100-110521) (STAUGHTON LYND) (43)  
1-NY (100-148904) (THOMAS HAYDEN) (43)  
1-NY (100-154785) (VIDEM) (43)  
1-NY (100-80532) (42)

JDB:rmv  
(12)

100-43681-  
NOT RECORDED  
198 JAN 24 1966

57 FEB 4 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN

NY 100-80532

- "2. By the Meteorological Department of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam Regarding the Criminal US Air Raids on D.R.V. Meteorological Stations and Observatories.

Hanoi 11/29/65

- "3. By the Red Cross Society of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam regarding the savage crimes of the US Government and its trampling upon the Geneva Conventions for the Protection of the Victims of war.

9/27/65

- "4. Of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam Ministry of Public Health on the US bombings of medical establishments.

Hanoi 7/15/65

- "5. To the Evangelical Christians and ministers of all creeds in the USA.

Hanoi 12/23/65

- "6. By the Ministry of Water Conservancy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Hanoi 9/15/65

- "7. By the Ministry of Education of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam regarding the US imperialists crimes in air raiding educational institutions and massacring teachers and students.

10/12/65"

NY 100-80532

These Xerox copies were made available to [redacted]

b6 per CBP  
b7C

[redacted]  
U.S. Customs House, Room 514, NYC.

In addition, [redacted] made available for examination two paperback books, property of HAYDEN, which were detained by U.S. Customs officials on 1/9/66. These 2 books were titled, "HO CHI MINH Selected Works III" and "HO CHI MINH Selected Works IV" consisting of 445 pages and 468 pages respectively and both published by Hanoi Foreign Languages Publishing House in 1961 and 1962.

b6 per CBP  
b7C  
b7E

[redacted] also [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
1/9/66. [redacted]  
[redacted]

Enclosed herewith for Newark is a Xerox copy of U.S. Customs declaration on HAYDEN dated 1/9/66. This was made available by [redacted]

b6 per CBP  
b7C